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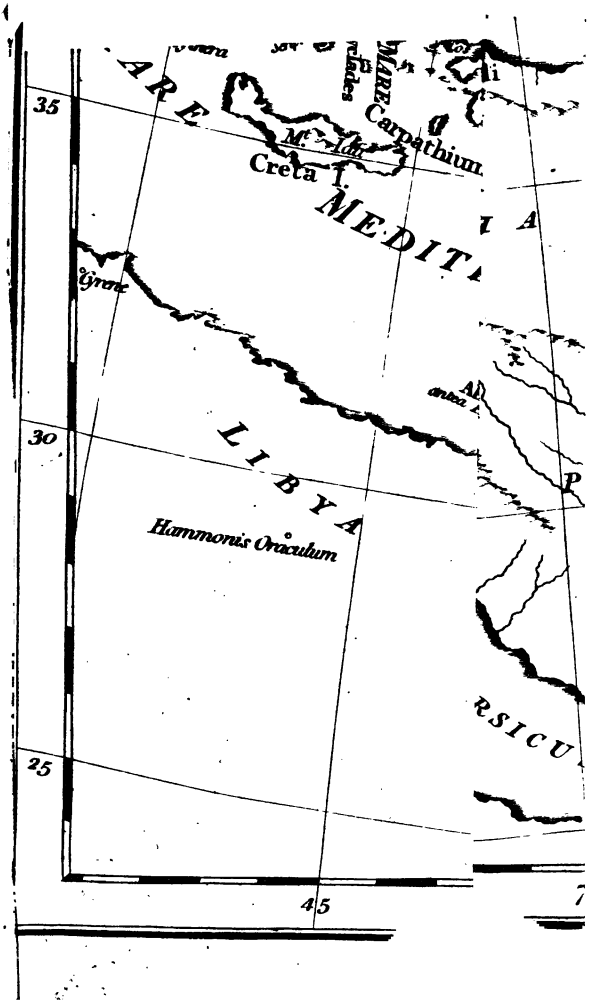

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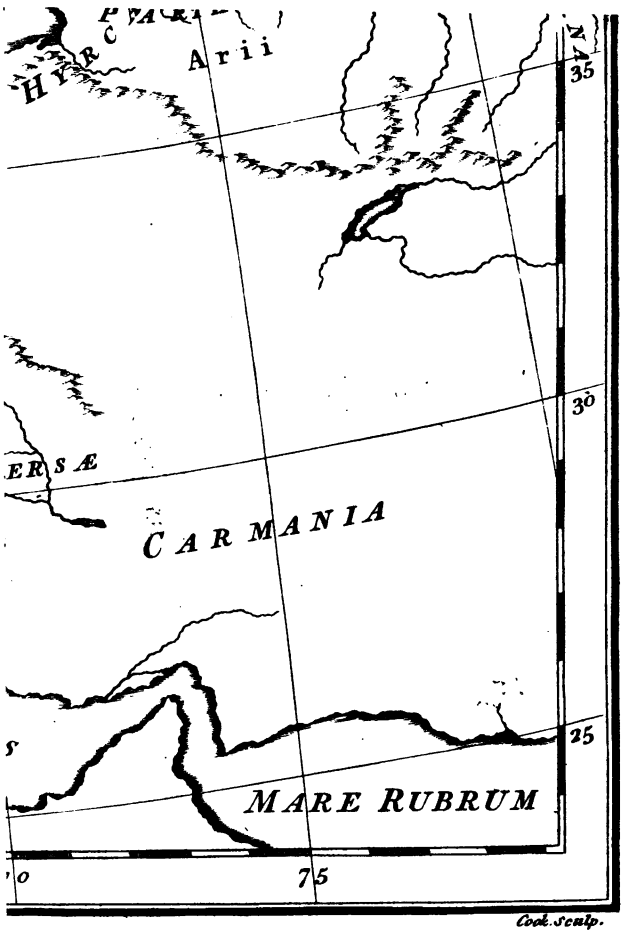

Cook. Sculp.

THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS;

WITH

AN ESSAY

ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, &c.

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit.

TACITUS, Annales, iii. s. 65.

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WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS.

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1811.

A

TREATISE

ON THE

SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE,

OF

GERMANY.

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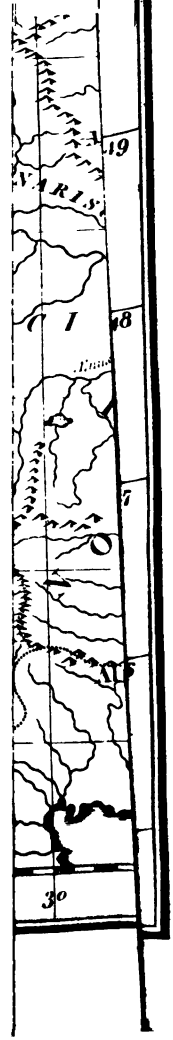
This tract was composed by Tacitus in the

Year of Rome	Of Christ	Consuls.
851	98	*Nerva, the 4th time. Trajan, the 2d.*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A

TREATISE

ON THE

SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE

OF

GERMANY.

I.

THE whole vast country of Germany (*a*) is separated from Gaul (*b*), from Rhætia, and Pannonia, by the Rhine and the Danube; from Dacia and Sarmatia, by a chain of mountains (*c*), and, where the mountains subside, mutual dread forms a sufficient barrier. The rest is bounded by the ocean, embracing in its depth of water several spacious bays (*d*), and islands of prodigious extent, whose kings and people are now, in some measure, known to us, the progress of our arms having made (*e*) recent discoveries. The Rhine has its source on the steep and lofty summit of the Rhætian

Alps (*f*), from which it precipitates, and, after winding towards the west, directs its course through a long tract of country, and falls into the Northern Ocean. The Danube, gushing down the soft and gentle declivity of the mountain Abnoba (*g*), visits several nations in its progress, and at last, through six channels (the seventh is absorbed in fens and marshes), discharges itself into the Pontic Sea.

II. The Germans, there is reason to think, are an indigenous race (*a*), the original natives of the country, without any intermixture of adventitious settlers from other nations. In the early ages of the world, the adventurers who issued forth in quest of new habitations, did not traverse extensive tracts of land (*b*); the first migrations were made by sea. Even at this day the Northern Ocean, vast and boundless, and, as I may say, always at enmity with mariners (*c*), is seldom navigated by ships from our quarter of the world. Putting the dangers of a turbulent and unknown sea out of the case, who would leave the softer climes of Asia, Africa, or Italy, to fix his abode (*d*) in Germany? where nature offers nothing but scenes of deformity; where the

inclemency of the seasons never relents; where the land presents a dreary region, without form or culture, and, if we except the affection of a native for his mother-country, without an allurement to make life supportable. In all songs and ballads (*e*), the only memorials of antiquity amongst them, the god Tuisto (*f*), who was born of the Earth, and Mannus, his son, are celebrated as the founders of the German race. Mannus (*g*), it is said, had three sons, from whom the Ingævones, who border on the sea-coast; the Herminones, who inhabit the midland country; and the Istævones, who occupy the remaining tract, have all respectively derived their names. Some indeed, taking advantage of the obscurity that hangs over remote and fabulous ages, ascribe to the god Tuisto a more numerous issue, and thence trace the names of various tribes, such as the Marsians, the Gambrivians (*h*), the Suevians, and the Vandals (*i*). The ancient date and authenticity of those names are, as they contend, clearly ascertained. The word Germany (*k*) is held to be of modern addition. In support of this hypothesis, they tell us that the people, who first passed the Rhine, and took possession of a

canton in Gaul, though known at present by the name of Tungrians, were, in that expedition, called Germans, and thence the title assumed by a band of emigrants, in order to spread a general terror in their progress, extended itself by degrees, and became, in time, the appellation of a whole people. They have a current tradition that Hercules (*l*) visited those parts. When rushing to battle, they sing, in preference to all other heroes, the praises of that ancient worthy.

III. THE Germans abound with rude strains of verse, the reciters of which, in the language of the country, are called BARDS (*a*). With this barbarous poetry they inflame their minds with ardour in the day of action, and prognosticate the event from the impression which it happens to make on the minds of the soldiers, who grow terrible to the enemy, or despair of success, as the war-song (*b*) produces an animated or a feeble sound. Nor can their manner of chanting this savage prelude be called the tone of human organs: it is rather a furious uproar; a wild chorus of military virtue. The vociferation used upon these occasions is uncouth and harsh, at intervals

interrupted by the application of their bucklers to their mouths, and by the repercussion bursting out with redoubled force. An opinion prevails among them, that Ulysses, in the course of those wanderings, which are so famous in poetic story, was driven into the Northern Ocean, and that, having penetrated into the country, he built, on the banks of the Rhine, the city of Asciburgium (*c*), which is inhabited at this day, and still retains the name given originally by the founder. It is further added, that an altar dedicated to Ulysses (*d*), with the name of Laertes, his father, engraved upon it, was formerly discovered at Asciburgium. Mention is likewise made of certain monuments and tomb-stones, still to be seen on the confines of Germany and Rhætia, with epitaphs, or inscriptions, in Greek characters. But these assertions it is not my intention either to establish or to refute; the reader will yield or withhold his assent, according to his judgement or his fancy.

IV. I HAVE already acceded to the opinion of those, who think that the Germans have hitherto subsisted without intermarrying with other nations, a pure, unmixed, and independ-

ent race, unlike any other people, all bearing the marks of a distinct national character. Hence, what is very remarkable in such prodigious numbers, a family-likeness throughout the nation; the same form and feature (*a*), stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, their bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labour; thirst and heat overcome them; but, from the nature of their soil and climate, they are proof against cold and hunger.

V. THE face of the country, though in some parts varied, presents a cheerless scene, covered with the gloom of forests, or deformed with wide-extended marshes; towards the boundaries of Gaul, moist and swampy; on the side of Noricum (*a*) and Pannonia, more exposed to the fury of the winds. Vegetation thrives with sufficient vigour. The soil produces grain, but is unkind to fruit-trees (*b*); well stocked with cattle, but of an under-size, and deprived by nature of the usual growth and ornament of the head. The pride of a German consists in the number of his flocks and herds: they are his only riches, and in these he places his chief delight. Gold and silver are withheld from

them; is it by the favour or the wrath of Heaven? I do not, however, mean to assert (*c*) that in Germany there are no veins of precious ore; for who has been a miner in those regions? Certain it is, they do not enjoy the possession and use of those metals with our sensibility. There are, indeed, silver vessels to be seen amongst them, but they were presents to their chiefs or ambassadors; the Germans regard them in no better light than common earthen-ware. It is, however, observable, that near the borders of the empire, the inhabitants set a value upon gold and silver, finding them subservient to the purposes of commerce. The Roman coin is known in those parts, and some of our specie is not only current, but in request. In places more remote, the simplicity of ancient manners still prevails: commutation of property is their only traffic. Where money passes in the way of barter, our old coin is the most acceptable, particularly that which is indented at the edge, or stamped with the impression of a chariot and two horses, called the SERRATI and BIGATI (*d*). Silver is preferred to gold, not from caprice or fancy (*e*), but because the inferior metal is of more expeditious use in the purchase of low-priced commodities.

VI. IRON does not abound in Germany (*a*), if we may judge from the weapons in general use. Swords and large lances are seldom seen. The soldier grasps his javelin, or, as it is called in their language, his FRAM; an instrument tipped with a short and narrow piece of iron, sharply pointed, and so commodious, that, as occasion requires, he can manage it in close engagement, or in distant combat. With this, and a shield, the cavalry is completely armed. The infantry have an addition of missive weapons. Each man carries a considerable number, and, being naked, or, at least, not encumbered by his light mantle, he throws his weapon to a distance almost incredible. A German has no attention (*b*) to the ornament of his person: his shield is the object of his care, and this he decorates with the liveliest colours. Breast-plates are uncommon. In a whole army you will not see more than one or two helmets. Their horses have neither swiftness nor elegance of shape, nor are they trained to the various evolutions of the Roman cavalry (*c*). To advance in a direct line, or wheel suddenly to the right, is the whole of their skill, and this they perform in so compact a body, that not one is thrown out of his rank. Ac-

cording to the best estimate, the infantry form the national strength, and, for that reason, always fight intermixed with the cavalry (*d*). The flower of their youth, able by their vigour and activity to keep pace with the movements of the horse, are selected for this purpose, and placed in the front of the lines. The number of these is fixed and certain: each canton sends a hundred, from that circumstance called HUNDREDORS (*e*) by the army. The name was at first numerical only: it is now a title of honour. Their order of battle presents the form of a wedge (*f*). To give ground in the heat of action, provided you return to the charge, is military skill, not fear, or cowardice. In the most fierce and obstinate engagement, even when the fortune of the day is doubtful (*g*), they make it a point to carry off their slain. To abandon their shield is a flagitious crime. The person guilty of it is interdicted from religious rites, and excluded from the assembly of the state. Many, who survived their honour on the day of battle, have closed a life of ignominy by a halter.

VII. THE kings in Germany (*a*) owe their election to the nobility of their birth; the ge-

nerals are chosen for their valour. The power of the former is not arbitrary or unlimited (*b*); the latter command more by warlike example than by their authority. To be of a prompt and daring spirit in battle, and to attack in the front of the lines, is the popular character of the chieftain: when admired for his bravery, he is sure to be obeyed. Jurisdiction is vested in the priests. It is theirs to sit in judgement upon all offences. By them, delinquents are put in irons, and chastised with stripes. The power of punishing is in no other hands (*c*). When exerted by the priests, it has neither the air of vindictive justice, nor of military execution; it is rather a religious sentence, inflicted with the sanction of the god, who, according to the German creed, attends their armies on the day of battle. To impress on their minds the idea of a tutelar deity, they carry with them to the field certain images and banners, taken from their usual depository, the religious groves (*d*). A circumstance which greatly tends to inflame them with heroic ardour, is the manner in which their battalions are formed. They are neither mustered nor embodied by chance. They fight in clans, united by consanguinity, a fa-

mily of warriors. Their tenderest pledges (*e*) are near them in the field. In the heat of the engagement, the soldier hears the shrieks of his life, and the cries of his children. These are the darling witnesses of his conduct, the applauders of his valour, at once beloved and valued. The wounded seek their mothers and their wives: undismayed at the sight, the women count each honourable scar, and suck the gushing blood. They are even hardy enough to mix with the combatants, administering refreshment, and exhorting them to deeds of valour.

VIII. From tradition, they have a variety of instances of armies put to the rout, and by the interposition of their wives and daughters again incited to renew the charge. Their women saw the ranks give way, and rushing forward in the instant, by the vehemence of their cries and supplications, by opposing (*a*) their breasts to danger, and by representing the horrors of slavery, restored the order of the battle. To a German mind the idea of a woman led into captivity is insupportable. In consequence of this prevailing sentiment, the states, which deliver as hostages the daughters

of illustrious families, are bound by the most effectual obligation. There is, in their opinion, something sacred in the female sex (*b*), and even the power of foreseeing future events. Their advice is, therefore, always heard; they are frequently consulted, and their responses are deemed oracular. We have seen, in the reign of Vespasian, the famous Veleda (*c*) revered as a divinity by her countrymen. Before her time, Aurinia and others were held in equal veneration; but a veneration founded on sentiment and superstition, free from that servile adulation which pretends to people heaven with human deities.

IX. MERCURY is the god (*a*) chiefly adored in Germany. On stated days they think it lawful to offer to him human victims. They sacrifice to Hercules and Mars (*b*) such animals as are usually slain in honour of the gods. In some parts of the country of the Suevians, the worship of Isis (*c*) is established. To trace the introduction of ceremonies, which had their growth in another part of the world, were an investigation for which I have no materials: suffice it to say, that the figure of a ship (the symbolic representation of the goddess) clearly

shews that the religion was imported into the country. Their deities are not immured in temples, nor represented under any kind of resemblance to the human form. To do either were, in their opinion (*d*), to derogate from the majesty of superior beings. Woods and groves (*e*) are the sacred depositaries; and the spot being consecrated to those pious uses, they give to that sacred recess the name of the divinity that fills the place, which is never profaned by the steps of man. The gloom fills every mind with awe; revered at a distance, and never seen but with the eye of contemplation.

X. Their attention to auguries, and the practice of divining by lots (*a*), is conducted with a degree of superstition not exceeded by any other nation. Their mode of proceeding by lots is wonderfully simple. The branch of a fruit-tree is cut into small pieces, which, being all distinctly marked, are thrown at random on a white garment. If a question of public interest be depending, the priest of the canton performs the ceremony; if it be nothing more than a private concern, the master of the family (*b*) officiates. With fervent prayers of-

fered up to the gods, his eyes devoutly raised to heaven, he holds up three times each segment of the twig, and as the marks rise in succession, interprets the decrees of fate. If appearances prove unfavourable, there ends all consultation for that day: if, on the other hand, the chances are propitious, they require, for greater certainty, the sanction of auspices. The well known superstition, which in other countries consults the flight and notes of birds, is also established in Germany; but to receive intimation of future events from horses (c) is the peculiar credulity of the country. For this purpose a number of milk-white steeds, unprofaned by mortal labour, is constantly maintained at the public expence, and placed to pasture in the religious groves. When occasion requires, they are harnessed to a sacred chariot, and the priest, accompanied by the king, or chief of the state, attends to watch the motions and the neighing of the horses. No other mode of augury is received with such implicit faith by the people, the nobility, and the priesthood. The horses, upon these solemn occasions, are supposed to be the organs of the gods, and the priests their favoured interpreters. They have still another way of

prying into futurity, to which they have recourse, when anxious to know the issue of an important war. They seize, by any means in their power, a captive (*d*) from the adverse nation, and commit him in single combat with a champion selected from their own army. Each is provided with weapons after the manner of his country, and the victory, wherever it falls, is deemed a sure prognostic of the event.

XI. In matters of inferior moment the chiefs decide (*a*); important questions are reserved for the whole community. Yet even in those cases where all have a voice, the business is discussed and prepared by the chiefs. The general assembly, if no sudden alarm calls the people together, has its fixed and stated periods, either at the new or full moon (*b*). This is thought the season most propitious to public affairs. Their account of time differs from that of the Romans: instead of days, they reckon the number of nights (*c*). Their public ordinances are so dated; and their proclamations run in the same style. The night, according to them, leads the day. Their passion for liberty is attended with this ill conse-

quence: when a public meeting is announced, they never assemble at the stated time. Regularity would look like obedience: to mark their independent spirit, they do not convene at once, but two or three days are lost in delay. When they think themselves sufficiently numerous, the business begins. Each man takes his seat (*d*), completely armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who still retain their coercive authority. The king (*e*), or chief of the community, opens the debate: the rest are heard in their turn, according to age, nobility of descent, renown in war, or fame for eloquence. No man dictates to the assembly: he may persuade, but cannot command. When any thing is advanced not agreeable to the people, they reject it with a general murmur. If the proposition pleases, they brandish their javelins. This is their highest and most honourable mark of applause: they assent in a military manner, and praise by the sound of their arms.

XII. In this council of the state accusations are exhibited, and capital offences prosecuted. Pains and penalties are proportioned to the nature of the crime. For treason and deser-

tion (*a*), the sentence is, to be hanged on a tree: the coward, and such as are guilty of unnatural practices (*b*), are plunged under a hurdle into bogs and fens. In these different punishments the point and spirit of the law is, that crimes which affect the state may be exposed to public notoriety: infamous vice (*c*) cannot be too soon buried in oblivion. He, who is convicted of transgressions of an inferior nature (*d*), pays a mulct of horses, or of cattle. Part of that fine goes to the king (*e*), or the community, and part to the person injured, or to his family. It is in these assemblies that princes are chosen (*f*), and chiefs elected to act as magistrates in the several cantons of the state. To each of these judicial officers, assistants are appointed from the body of the people, to the number of a hundred, who attend to give their advice, and strengthen the hands of justice.

XIII. A GERMAN transacts no business, public or private, without being completely armed (*a*). The right of carrying arms is assumed by no person whatever, till the state has declared him duly qualified. The young candidate is introduced before the assembly,

where one of the chiefs, or his father, or some near relation, provides him (b) with a shield and javelin. This, with them, is the manly gown (d): the youth from that moment ranks as a citizen: till then he was considered as part of the household; he is now a member of the commonwealth. In honour of illustrious birth, and to mark the sense men entertain of the father's merit, the son, though yet of tender years, is called to the dignity of a prince or chief. Such as are grown up to manhood, and have signalized themselves by a spirit of enterprise, have always a number of retainers in their train. Where merit is conspicuous, no man blushes to be seen in the list of followers, or companions (d). A clanship is formed in this manner, with degrees of rank and subordination. The chief judges the pretensions of all, and assigns to each man his proper station. A spirit of emulation prevails among his whole train, all struggling to be the first in favour, while the chief places all his glory in the number and intrepidity of his COMPANIONS. In that consists his dignity (e); to be surrounded by a band of young men is the source of his power; in peace, his brightest ornament; in war, his strongest bulwark. Non

is his fame confined to his own country; it extends to foreign nations, and is then of the first importance, if he surpasses his rivals in the number and courage of his followers. He receives presents from all parts; ambassadors are sent to him; and his name alone is often sufficient to decide the issue of a war.

XIV. In the field of action, it is disgraceful to the prince to be surpassed in valour by his COMPANIONS; and not to vie with him in martial deeds, is equally a reproach to his followers. If he dies in the field, he who survives him (*a*) survives to live in infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to succour him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions subservient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the most sacred obligation. The chief fights for victory; the followers for their chief. If, in the course of a long peace, the people relax into sloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles seek a more active life (*b*) in the service of other states engaged in war. The German mind cannot brook repose. The field of danger is the field of glory. Without violence and rapine a train of dependants cannot be

maintained. The chief must shew his liberality, and the follower expects it. He demands (c) at one time this warlike horse, at another, that victorious lance imbrued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however inelegant, must always be plentiful: it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredation are the ways and means of the chieftain. To cultivate the earth, and wait the regular produce of the seasons, is not the maxim of a German: you will more easily persuade him to attack the enemy, and provoke honourable wounds in the field of battle. In a word, to earn by the sweat of your brow, what you might gain by the price of your blood, is, in the opinion of a German, a sluggish principle, unworthy of a soldier.

XV. When the state has no war to manage, the German mind is sunk in sloth. The chase (a) does not afford sufficient employment. The time is passed in sleep and gluttony. The intrepid warrior, who in the field braved every danger, becomes in time of peace a listless sluggard. The management of his house and lands he leaves to the women, to the old men, and the infirm part of his family.

He himself lounges in stupid repose, by a wonderful diversity of nature (*b*), exhibiting in the same man the most inert aversion to labour, and the fiercest principle of action. It is a custom established in the several states, to present a contribution of corn and cattle (*c*) to their chieftains. Individuals follow the example, and this bounty proves at once an honour to the prince, and his best support. Presents are also sent from the adjacent states, as well by private persons, as in the name of the community. Nothing is so flattering to the pride of the chiefs as those foreign favours, consisting of the best horses, magnificent armour, splendid harness (*d*), and beautiful collars. The Romans have lately taught them to receive presents of money (*e*).

XVI. The Germans, it is well known have no regular cities (*a*); nor do they allow a continuity of houses. They dwell in separate habitations, dispersed up and down, as a grove, a meadow, or a fountain, happens to invite. They have villages, but not, in our fashion, with a series of connected buildings. Every tenement stands detached, with a vacant piece of ground round it (*b*), either to prevent

accidents by fire, or for want of skill in the art of building. They neither know the use of mortar nor of tiles. They build with rude materials, regardless of beauty, order, and proportion. Particular parts are covered over with a kind of earth so smooth and shining, that the natural veins have some resemblance to the lights and shades of painting. Besides these habitations, they have a number of subterraneous caves (*c*), dug by their own labour, and carefully covered over with dung; in winter their retreat from cold, and the repository of their corn. In those recesses they not only find a shelter from the rigour of the season, but in times of foreign invasion their effects are safely concealed. The enemy lays waste the open country, but the hidden treasure escapes the general ravage; safe in its obscurity, or because the search would be attended with too much trouble.

XVII. The clothing in use is a loose mantle (*a*), made fast with a clasp, or, when that cannot be had, with a thorn. Naked in other respects, they loiter away whole days by the fire-side (*b*). The rich wear a garment, not, indeed, displayed and flowing, like the

Parthians, or the people of Sarmatia, but drawn so tight, that the form of the limbs is palpably expressed (*c*). The skins of wild animals are also much in use. Near the frontier, on the borders of the Rhine, the inhabitants wear them, but with an air of neglect, that shews them altogether indifferent about the choice. The people who live more remote, near the northern seas (*d*), and have not acquired by commerce a taste for new-fashioned apparel, are more curious in the selection. They choose particular beasts, and having stripped off the furs, clothe themselves with the spoil, decorated with particoloured spots, or fragments taken from the skins of fish that swim the ocean as yet unexplored by the Romans. In point of dress there is no distinction between the sexes, except that the garment of the women is frequently made of linen, adorned with purple stains, but without sleeves, leaving the arms and part of the bosom uncovered.

XVIII. MARRIAGE is considered as a strict and sacred institution (*a*). In the national character there is nothing so truly commendable. To be contented with one wife, is pe-

culiar to the Germans. They differ, in this respect, from all other savage nations. There are, indeed, a few instances of polygamy; not, however, the effect of loose desire, but occasioned by the ambition of various families, who court the alliance of the chief distinguished by the nobility of his rank and character. The bride brings no portion; she receives a dowry from her husband. In the presence of her parents and relations he makes a tender of part of his wealth: if accepted, the match is approved. In the choice of the presents, female vanity is not consulted. There are no frivolous trinkets to adorn the future bride. The whole fortune consists of oxen, a caparisoned horse, a shield, a spear, and a sword. She in return delivers a present of arms, and, by this exchange of gifts, the marriage is concluded. This is the nuptial ceremony, this the bond of union, these their hymeneal gods. Lest the wife should think her sex an exemption from the rigours of the severest virtue, and the toils of war, she is informed of her duty by the marriage-ceremony, and thence she learns, that she is received by her husband to be his partner in toil and danger, to dare with him in war, and suffer with him in peace.

The oxen yoked, the horse accoutred, and the arms given on the occasion, inculcate this lesson; and thus she is prepared to live, and thus to die. These are the terms of their union: she receives her armour as a sacred treasure, to be preserved inviolate, and transmitted with honour to her sons (*b*), a portion for their wives, and from them descendible to her grand-children.

XIX. In consequence of these manners, the married state is a life of affection and female constancy. The virtue of the woman is guarded from seduction: no public spectacles (*a*) to seduce her; no banquets to inflame her passions; no baits of pleasure to disarm her virtue. The art of intriguing by clandestine letters (*b*) is unknown to both sexes. Populous as the country is, adultery is rarely heard of: when detected, the punishment is instant, and inflicted (*c*) by the husband. He cuts off the hair of his guilty wife (*d*), and, having assembled her relations, expels her naked from his house, pursuing her with stripes through the village. To public loss of honour no favour is shewn. She may possess beauty, youth, and riches; but a husband she can never ob-

tain. Vice is not treated by the Germans as a subject of raillery, nor is the profligacy of corrupting and being corrupted called the fashion of the age (*e*). By the practice of some states, female virtue is advanced to still higher perfection: with them none but virgins marry (*f*). When the bride has fixed her choice, her hopes of matrimony are closed for life. With one husband, as with one life, one mind, one body, every woman is satisfied: in him her happiness is centred; her desires extend no farther; and the principle is not only an affection for her husband's person, but a reverence for the married state (*g*). To set limits to population, by rearing up only a certain number of children, and destroying the rest (*h*), is accounted a flagitious crime. Among the savages of Germany, virtuous manners operate more (*i*) than good laws in other countries.

XX. In every family the children are reared up in filth (*a*). They run about naked, and in time grow up to that strength and size of limb which we behold with wonder. The infant is nourished at the mother's breast; not turned over to nurses and to servants. No distinction is made between the future chief-

tain and the infant son of a common slave. On the same ground, and mixed with the same cattle, they pass their days, till the age of manhood draws the line of separation (*b*), and early valour shews the person of ingenuous birth. It is generally late before their young men enjoy the pleasures of love (*c*); by consequence, they are not enfeebled in their prime. Nor are the virgins married too soon. Both parties wait to attain their full growth. In the warm season of mutual vigour (*d*) the match is made, and the children of the marriage have the constitution of their parents. The uncle by the mother's side regards his nephews with an affection nothing inferior to that of their father. With some, the relation of the sister's children to their maternal uncle (*e*) is held to be the strongest tie of consanguinity, insomuch that in demanding hostages, that line of kindred is preferred, as the most endearing objects of the family, and, consequently, the most tender pledges. The son (*f*) is always heir to his father. Last wills and testaments are not in use. In case of failure of issue, the brothers of the deceased are next in succession, or else the paternal or maternal uncles. A numerous train of relations is the comfort and the honour of old age.

To live without raising heirs to yourself (*g*) is no advantage in Germany.

XXI. To adopt the quarrels as well as the friendships of your parents and relations (*a*), is held to be an indispensable duty. In their resentments, however, they are not implacable. Injuries are adjusted by a settled measure of compensation. Atonement is made for (*b*) homicide by a certain number of cattle, and by that satisfaction the whole family is appeased: a happy regulation, than which nothing can be more conducive to the public interest, since it serves to curb that spirit of revenge which is the natural result of liberty in the excess. Hospitality (*c*) and convivial pleasure are no where so liberally enjoyed. To refuse admittance to a guest were an outrage against humanity. The master of the house welcomes every stranger, and regales him to the best of his ability. If his stock falls short, he becomes a visitor to his neighbour, and conducts his new acquaintance to a more plentiful table. They do not wait to be invited, nor is it of any consequence, since a cordial reception is always certain. Between an intimate and an entire stranger no distinction is made. The law of hospita-

lity is the same. The departing guest receives as a present whatever he desires, and the host retaliates by asking with the same freedom. A German delights in the gifts which he receives; yet by bestowing he imputes nothing to you as a favour, and for what he receives he acknowledges no obligation.

XXII. In this manner the Germans pride themselves upon their frankness and generosity. Their hours of rest are protracted to broad day-light. As soon as they rise, the first thing they do is to bathe, and generally, on account of the intense severity of the climate, in warm water (*a*). They then betake themselves to their meal, each on a separate seat, and at his own table (*b*). Having finished their repast, they proceed completely armed to the dispatch of business, and frequently to a convivial meeting. To devote both day and night to deep drinking is a disgrace to no man. Disputes, as will be the case with people in liquor, frequently arise, and are seldom confined to opprobrious language. The quarrel generally ends in a scene of blood (*c*). Important subjects, such

as the reconciliation of enemies, the forming of family-alliances, the election of chiefs, and even peace and war (*d*), are generally canvassed in their carousing festivals. The convivial moment, according to their notion, is the true season for business, when the mind opens itself in plain simplicity, or grows warm with bold and noble ideas. Strangers to artifice, and knowing no refinement, they tell their sentiments without disguise. The pleasure of the table expands their hearts, and calls forth every secret. On the following day the subject of debate is again taken into consideration, and thus two different periods of time have their distinct uses; when warm, they debate; when cool, they decide.

XXIII. Their beverage is a liquor drawn from barley or from wheat, and, like the juice of the grape, fermented to a spirit (*a*). The settlers on the banks of the Rhine provide themselves with wine. Their food is of the simplest kind; wild apples, the flesh of an animal recently killed, or coagulated milk (*b*). Without skill in cookery, or without seasoning to stimulate the palate (*c*), they eat to satisfy nature. But they do not drink merely to

quench their thirst. Indulge their love of liquor to the excess which they require (*d*), and you need not employ the terror of your arms: their own vices will subdue them.

XXIV. THEIR public spectacles boast of no variety. They have but one sort, and that they repeat at all their meetings. A band of young men make it their pastime to dance entirely naked amidst pointed swords and javelins. By constant exercise this kind of exhibition has become an art, and art has taught them to perform with grace and elegance. Their talents, however, are not let out for hire (*a*). Though some danger attends the practice, the pleasure of the spectator is their only recompence. In the character of a German there is nothing so remarkable as his passion for play. Without the excuse of liquor (strange as it may seem!), in their cool and sober moments they have recourse to dice (*b*), as to a serious and regular business, with the most desperate spirit committing their whole substance to chance, and when they have lost their all, putting their liberty and even their persons upon the last hazard of the die. The loser yields himself to slavery. Young, ro-

bust, and valiant, he submits to be chained, and even exposed to sale. Such is the effect of a ruinous and inveterate habit. They are victims to folly, and they call themselves men of honour. The winner is always in a hurry to barter away the slaves acquired by success at play: he is ashamed of his victory, and therefore puts away the remembrance of it as soon as possible.

XXV. The slaves in general are not arranged at their several employments in the household affairs, as is the practice at Rome. Each has his separate habitation, and his own establishment to manage. The master considers him as an agrarian dependent (*a*), who is obliged to furnish a certain quantity of grain, of cattle, or of wearing apparel. The slave obeys, and the state of servitude extends no further. All domestic affairs are managed by the master's wife and children. To punish a slave with stripes, to load him with chains, or condemn him to hard labour, is unusual. It is true, that slaves (*b*) are sometimes put to death, not under colour of justice, or of any authority vested in the master; but in a transport of passion, in a fit of rage, as is often the

case in a sudden affray; but it is also true, that this species of homicide passes with impunity. The freedmen (*c*) are not of much higher consideration than the actual slaves; they obtain no rank in the master's family, and, if we except the parts of Germany where monarchy is established (*d*), they never figure on the stage of public business. In despotic governments they rise above the men of ingenuous birth, and even eclipse the whole body of the nobles (*e*). In other states the subordination of the freedmen is a proof of public liberty.

XXVI. The practice of placing money at interest, and reaping the profits of usury (*a*), is unknown in Germany; and that happy ignorance is a better prevention of the evil than a code of prohibitory laws. In cultivating the soil, they do not settle on one spot, but shift from place to place (*b*). The state or community takes possession of a certain tract proportioned to its number of hands; allotments are afterwards made to individuals according to their rank and dignity. In so extensive a country, where there is no want of land, the partition is easily made. The

ground tilled in one year, lies fallow the next, and a sufficient quantity always remains, the labour of the people being by no means adequate to the extent or goodness of the soil. Nor have they the skill to make orchard-plantations, to inclose the meadow-grounds, or to lay out and water gardens. From the earth they demand nothing but corn. Hence their year is not, as with the Romans, divided into four seasons. They have distinct ideas of winter, spring, and summer, and their language has terms for each; but they neither know the blessings nor the name of autumn (*c*).

XXVII. Their funerals (*a*) have neither pomp nor vain ambition. When the bodies of illustrious men are to be burned, they choose a particular kind of wood for the purpose, and have no other attention. The funeral pile is neither strewed with garments, nor enriched with fragrant spices. The arms of the deceased are committed to the flames, and sometimes his horse (*b*). A mound of turf is raised to his memory, and this, in their opinion, is a better sepulchre than those structures of laboured grandeur, which display the weakness

of human vanity, and are, at best, a burthen to the dead. Tears and lamentations are soon at an end, but their regret does not so easily wear away. To grieve for the departed is comely in the softer sex. The women weep for their friends (*c*); the men remember them.

XXVIII. THIS is the sum of what I have been able to collect touching the origin of the Germans, and the general manners of the people. I now shall enter into a more minute description of the several states, their peculiar rites, and the distinctive character of each; observing at the same time, which were the nations that first passed the Rhine, and transplanted themselves into Gaul. That the Gauls, in ancient times, were superior to the Germans (*a*), we have the authority of Julius Cæsar, that illustrious historian of his own affairs. From what is stated by that eminent writer, it is highly probable that colonies from Gaul passed over into Germany: for, in fact, how could a river check the migrations of either nation, when it increased in strength, and multiplied its numbers? So weak an obstacle could not repel them from taking possession of a country, not as yet marked

out by power, and of course open to the first occupant. We find, accordingly, that the whole region between the Hercynian forest (*b*), the Maine and the Rhine, was occupied by the Helvetians, and the tract beyond it by the Boians (*c*); both originally Gallic nations. The name of BOIEMUM, which remains to this day, shews the ancient state of the country, though it has since received a new race of inhabitants. Whether the Araviscians (*d*), who settled in Pannonia, were originally a colony from the Osi, a people of Germany; or, on the other hand, whether the Osi overflowed into Germany from the Araviscians; cannot now be ascertained. Thus much is certain, the laws, the manners, and language of both nations are still the same. But which of them first passed the Danube? The same good and evil were to be found on both sides of the river; equal poverty and equal independence. To be thought of German origin is the ambition of the Treverians (*e*) and the Nervians, both conceiving, that the reproach of Gallic softness and effeminacy, which still infect their national manners, may be lost in the splendour of a warlike descent. The Vangiones (*f*), the Tribocians, and the Nemetes,

who stretch along the banks of the Rhine, are, beyond all doubt, of German extraction. The Ubians (*g*), for their services, were made a Roman colony, and, with their own consent, became known by the name of AGRIPPINIANS, in honour of their founder; and yet they still look back with pride to their German origin. They issued formerly from that country, and having given proof of their fidelity, obtained an allotment of territory on the banks of the Rhine, not so much with a view to their security, as to make them a guard to defend the Roman frontier.

XXIX. OF all these various nations the Batavians (*a*) are the most brave and warlike. Incorporated formerly with the Cattians, but driven out by intestine divisions, they took possession of an island, formed by the river Rhine, where, without any extent of land on the continent, they established a canton in alliance with the Romans. The honour of that ancient friendship they still enjoy, with the addition of peculiar privileges. They are neither insulted with taxes, nor harassed by revenue-officers. Free from burthens, imposts, and tributes, they are reserved for the

their general (c). The infantry is their main strength. Each soldier carries, besides his arms, his provision and a parcel of military tools. You may see other armies rushing to a battle; the Cattians march to a war. To skirmish in detached parties, or to sally out on a sudden emergence, is not their practice. A victory hastily gained, or a quick retreat, may suit the genius of the cavalry; but all that rapidity, in the opinion of the Cattians, denotes want of resolution: perseverance is the true mark of courage.

XXXI. A CUSTOM, known, indeed, in other parts of Germany, but adopted only by a few individuals of a bold and ardent spirit, is with the Cattians a feature of the national character. From the age of manhood they encourage the growth of their hair and beard (*a*); nor will any one, till he has slain an enemy, divest himself of that excrescence, which by a solemn vow he has devoted to heroic virtue. Over the blood and spoils of the vanquished the face of the warrior is, for the first time, displayed. The Cattian then exults; he has now answered the true end of his being, and has proved himself worthy of his parents and

his country. The sluggard continues unshorn, with the uncouth horrors of his visage growing wilder to the close of his days. The men of superior courage and uncommon ferocity wear also an iron ring (*b*), in that country a badge of infamy, and with that, as with a chain, they appear self-condemned to slavery, till by the slaughter of an enemy they have redeemed their freedom. With this extraordinary habit the Cattians are in general much delighted. They grow grey under a vow of heroism, and by their voluntary distinctions render themselves conspicuous to their friends and enemies. In every engagement the first attack is made by them: they claim the front of the line as their right, presenting to the enemy an appearance wild and terrible. Even in time of peace they retain the same ferocious aspect; never softened with an air of humanity. They have no house to dwell in, no land to cultivate, no domestic care to employ them. Wherever chance conducts them, they are sure of being maintained. Lavish of their neighbours' substance, and prodigal of their own, they persist in this course, till towards the decline of life their drooping spirit is no longer equal to the exertions of a fierce and rigid virtue.

XXXII. The Usipians and Tencterians (*a*) border on the Cattians. Their territory lies on the banks of the Rhine, where that river, still flowing in one regular channel, forms a sufficient boundary. In addition to their military character, the Tencterians are famous for the discipline of their cavalry. Their horse is no way inferior to the infantry of the Cattians. The wisdom of their ancestors formed the military system, and their descendants hold it in veneration. Horsemanship is the pride of the whole country, the pastime of their children, the emulation of their youth, and the habit of old age. With their goods and valuable effects their horses pass as part of the succession, not however, by the general rule of inheritance, to the eldest son, but, in a peculiar line, to that son who stands distinguished by his valour and his exploits in war.

XXXIII. In the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned states formerly occurred the Bructerians (*a*), since that time dispossessed of their territory, and, as fame reports, now no longer a people. The Chamavians and Angrivarians (*b*), it is said, with the consent of the adjacent tribes, invaded the country, and

pursued the ancient settlers with exterminating fury. The intolerable pride of the Bructerians drew upon them this dreadful catastrophe. The love of plunder was, no doubt, a powerful motive; and, perhaps, the event was providentially ordained in favour of the Roman people. Certain it is, the gods have of late indulged us with the view of a fierce engagement, and a scene of carnage, in which above sixty thousand of the enemy fell a sacrifice, not to the arms of Rome, but, more magnificent still! to the rage of their own internal discord, all cut off, as it were in a theatre of war, to furnish a spectacle to the Roman army. May this continue to be the fate of foreign nations! If not the friends of Rome, let them be enemies to themselves. For in the present tide of our affairs, what can fortune have in store so devoutly to be wished for as civil dissension amongst our enemies?

XXXIV. At the back of the states, which I have now described, lie the Dulgibinians (*a*) and the Chasuarians, with other nations of inferior note. In front occurs the country of the Frisians (*b*), divided into two communities, called, on account of their degrees of strength,

the Greater and the Lesser Frisia. Both extend along the margin of the Rhine as far as the Ocean, inclosing within their limits lakes of vast extent (*c*), where the fleets of Rome have spread their sails. Through that outlet we have attempted the Northern Ocean, where, if we may believe the account of navigators, the pillars of Hercules are seen still standing on the coast; whether it be, that Hercules did in fact visit those parts, or that whatever is great and splendid in all quarters of the globe is, by common consent, ascribed to that ancient hero. Drusus Germanicus was an adventurer in those seas (*d*). He did not want a spirit of enterprise; but the navigation was found impracticable in that tempestuous ocean, which seemed to forbid any further discovery of its own element, or the labours of Hercules. Since that time no expedition has been undertaken: men conceived that to respect the mysteries of the gods, and believe without enquiry, would be the best proof of veneration (*e*).

XXXV. We have hitherto traced the western side of Germany. From the point, where we stop, it stretches away with a pro-

digious sweep towards the north. In this vast region the first territory that occurs is that of the Chaucians (*a*), beginning on the confines of the Frisians, and, though at the extremity bounded by the sea-shore, yet running at the back of all the nations already described, till, with an immense compass, it reaches the borders of the Cattians. Of this immeasurable tract it is not sufficient to say that the Chaucians possess it: they even people it. Of all the German nations they are, beyond all question, the most respectable. Their grandeur rests upon the surest foundation, the love of justice; wanting no extension of territory, free from avarice and ambition, remote and happy, they provoke no wars, and never seek to enrich themselves by rapine and depredation. Their importance among the nations round them is undoubtedly great; but the best evidence of it is, that they have gained nothing by injustice. Loving moderation, yet uniting to it a warlike spirit, they are ever ready in a just cause to unsheath the sword. Their armies are soon in the field (*b*). In men and horses their resources are great, and even in profound tranquillity their fame is never tarnished.

XXXVI. Bordering on the side of the Chaucians, and also of the Cattians, lies the country of the Cheruscans (*a*); a people by a long disuse of arms enervated and sunk in sloth. Unmolested by their neighbours, they enjoyed the sweets of peace, forgetting that amidst powerful and ambitious neighbours the repose, which you enjoy, serves only to lull you into a calm, always pleasing, but deceitful in the end. When the sword is drawn, and the power of the strongest is to decide, you talk in vain of equity and moderation: those virtues always belong to the conqueror. Thus it has happened to the Cheruscans: they were formerly just and upright: at present they are called fools and cowards. Victory has transferred every virtue to the Cattians, and oppression takes the name of wisdom. The downfall of the Cheruscans drew after it that of the Fosi (*b*), a contiguous nation, in their day of prosperity never equal to their neighbours, but fellow-sufferers in their ruin.

XXXVII. In the same northern part of Germany we find the Cimbrians (*a*) on the margin of the ocean; a people at present of small consideration, though their glory can ne-

ver die. Monuments of their former strength and importance are still to be seen on either shore. Their camps and lines of circumvallation are not yet erased. From the extent of ground which they occupied you may even now form an estimate of the force and resources of the state, and the account of their grand army, which consisted of such prodigious numbers, seems to be verified. It was in the year of Rome six hundred and forty, in the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, that the arms of the Cimbrians first alarmed the world. If from that period we reckon to the second consulship of the emperor Trajan, we shall find a space of near two hundred and ten years: so long has Germany stood at bay with Rome! In the course of so obstinate a struggle, both sides have felt alternately the severest blows of fortune, and the worst calamities of war. Not the Samnite, nor the republic of Carthage, nor Spain, nor Gaul, nor even the Parthian, has given such frequent lessons to the Roman people. The power of the Arsacidæ (*b*) was not so formidable as German liberty. If we except the slaughter of Crassus and his army, what has the east to boast of? Their own commander,

Pacorus, was cut off, and the whole nation was humbled by the victory of Ventidius. The Germans can recount their triumphs over Carbo, Cassius (*c*), Scaurus Aurelius, Servilius Cæpio, and Cneius Manlius (*d*), all defeated, or taken prisoners. With them the republic lost five consular armies; and since that time, in the reign of Augustus, Varus perished with his three legions. Caius Marius (*e*), it is true, defeated the Germans in Italy; Julius Cæsar made them retreat from Gaul; and Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, overpowered them in their own country: but how much blood did those victories cost us! The mighty projects of Caligula ended in a ridiculous farce. From that period an interval of peace succeeded, till roused at length by the dissensions of Rome, and the civil wars that followed, they stormed our legions in their winter-quarters (*f*), and even planned the conquest of Gaul. Indeed we forced them to repass the Rhine; but from that time what has been our advantage? We have triumphed, and Germany is still unconquered.

XXXVIII. The Suevians (*a*) are the next that claim attention. Possessing the

largest portion of Germany, they do not, like the Cattians and Tencterians, form one state or community, but have among themselves several subdivisions, or inferior tribes, known by distinct appellations, yet all comprehended under the general name of Suevians. It is the peculiar custom of this people to braid the hair, and tie it up in a knot (*b*). Between them and the rest of the Germans this is the mark of distinction. In their own country it serves to discriminate the free-born from the slave. If the same mode is seen in other states, introduced by ties of consanguinity, or, as often happens, by the propensity of men to imitate foreign manners, the instances are rare, and confined entirely to the season of youth. With the Suevians the custom is continued through life: men far advanced in years are seen with their hoary locks interwoven, and fastened behind, or sometimes gathered into a shaggy knot on the crown of the head. The chiefs are more nicely adjusted: they attend to ornament, but it is a manly attention, not the spirit of intrigue or the affectation of appearing amiable in the eyes of women. When going to engage the enemy, they fancy that from the high structure of their hair they appear taller

and gain an air of ferocity. Their dress is a preparation for battle.

XXXIX. The Semnones (*a*) are ambitious to be thought the most ancient and respectable of the Suevian nation. Their claim they think confirmed by the mysteries of religion. On a stated day a procession is made into a wood consecrated in ancient times, and rendered awful by auguries delivered down from age to age. The several tribes of the same descent appear by their deputies. The rites begin with the slaughter of a man, who is offered as a victim, and thus their barbarous worship is celebrated by an act of horror. The grove is beheld with superstitious terror. No man enters that holy sanctuary without being bound with a chain, thereby denoting his humble sense of his own condition, and the superior attributes of the deity that fills the place. Should he happen to fall, he does not presume to rise, but in that grovelling state makes his way out of the wood. The doctrine intended by this bigotry is, that from this spot the whole nation derives its origin, and that here is the sacred mansion of the all-ruling mind, the supreme God of the uni-

verse (*b*), who holds every thing else in a chain of dependence on his will and pleasure. To these tenets much credit arises from the weight and influence of the Semnones, a populous nation, distributed into a hundred cantons, and by the vast extent of their territory entitled to consider themselves as the head of the Suevian nation.

XL. The Langobards (*a*) exhibit a contrast to the people last described. Their dignity is derived from the paucity of their numbers. Surrounded as they are by great and powerful nations, they live independent, owing their security not to mean compliances, but to that warlike spirit with which they encounter danger. To these succeed in regular order the Reudignians (*b*), the Aviones, Angles, and Varinians: the Eudocians, Nuithones, and Suardonians, all defended by rivers, or embosomed in forests. In these several tribes there is nothing that merits attention, except that they all agree to worship the goddess Earth, or as they call her Herth (*c*), whom they consider as the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interposes in human affairs, and, at times,

visits the several nations of the globe. A sacred grove on an island (*d*) in the Northern Ocean is dedicated to her. There stands her sacred chariot, covered with a vestment, to be touched by the priest only. When she takes her seat in this holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conscious of her presence, and in his fit of enthusiasm pursues her progress. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general festival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard, wherever the goddess directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aside, and the sword is sheathed. The sweets of peace are known, and then only relished. At length the same priest declares the goddess satisfied with her visitation, and re-conducts her to her sanctuary. The chariot with the sacred mantle, and, if we may believe report, the goddess herself, are purified in a secret lake. In this ablution certain slaves officiate, and instantly perish in the water. Hence the terrors of superstition are more widely diffused; a religious horror seizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful mystery, which no man can see and live. This part of the Suevian nation stretches away to the most remote and unknown recesses of Germany

XLI. On the banks of the Danube (for we shall now pursue that river, in the same manner as we have traced the course of the Rhine), the first and nearest state is that of the Hermundurians (*a*), a people in alliance with Rome, acting always with fidelity, and for that reason allowed to trade not only on the frontier, but even within the limits of the empire. They are seen at large in the heart of our splendid colony in the province of Rhætia, without so much as a guard to watch their motions. To the rest of the Germans we display camps and legions, but to the Hermundurians we grant the exclusive privilege of seeing our houses and our elegant villas. They behold the splendour of the Romans, but without avarice, or a wish to enjoy it. In the territories of these people the Elbe takes its rise (*b*), a celebrated river, and formerly well known to the Romans. At present we only hear of its name.

XLII. Contiguous to the last-mentioned people lies the country of the Nariscans (*a*), and next in order the Marcomannians (*b*) and the Quadians. Of these the Marcomannians are the most eminent for their strength and

military glory. The very territory now in their possession is the reward of valour, acquired by the expulsion of the Boians. Nor have the Nariscans or Quadians degenerated from their ancestors. As far as Germany is washed by the Danube, these three nations extend along the banks, and form the frontier of the country. The Marcomannians and the Quadians, within our own memory, obeyed a race of kings, born among themselves, the illustrious issue of Maroboduus (*c*) and of Tudrus. Foreign princes at present sway the sceptre; but the strength of their monarchy (*d*) depends upon the countenance and protection of Rome. To our arms they are not often indebted: we choose rather to supply them with money.

XLIII. At the back of the Marcomannians and Quadians lie several nations of considerable force, such as the Marsignians (*a*), the Gothinians, the Osians, and the Burians. In dress and language the two last resemble the Suevians. The Gothinians, by their use of the Gallic tongue, and the Osians by the dialect of Pannonia, are evidently not of German original. A further proof arises from

their submitting to the disgrace of paying tribute, imposed upon them as aliens and intruders, partly by the Sarmatians, and partly by the Quadians. The Gothinians have still more reason to blush; they submit (*b*) to the drudgery of digging iron in the mines. But a small part of the open and level country is occupied by these several nations: they dwell chiefly in forests, or on the summit of that continued ridge of mountains (*c*), by which Suevia is divided and separated from other tribes that lie still more remote. Of these the Lygians (*d*) are the most powerful, stretching to a great extent, and giving their name to a number of subordinate communities. It will suffice to mention the most considerable; namely, the (*e*) Arians, the Helvecones, the Manimians, the Elysians, and Naharvalians. The last shew a grove famous for the antiquity of its religious rites. The priest appears in a female dress. The gods whom they worship are, in the language of the country, known by the name of Alcis, by Roman interpreters said to be Castor and Pollux (*f*). There are, indeed, no idols in their country; no symbolic representation; no traces of foreign superstition. And yet their two deities are adored

in the character of young men and brothers. The Arians are not only superior to the other tribes above-mentioned, but are also more fierce and savage. Not content with their natural ferocity, they study to make themselves still more grim and horrible by every addition that art can devise. Their shields are black; their bodies painted of a deep colour (*g*); and the darkest night is their time for rushing to battle. The sudden surprise and funereal gloom of such a band of sable warriors are sure to strike a panic through the adverse army, who fly the field, as if a legion of demons had broke loose to attack them: so true it is that in every engagement the eye is first conquered. Beyond the Lygians the next state is that of the Gothones (*h*), who live under regal government, and are, by consequence, ruled with a degree of power more rigorous than other parts of Germany, yet not unlimited, nor entirely hostile to civil liberty. In the neighbourhood of these people we find, on the sea-coast, the Rugians and Lemovians (*i*), both subject to royal authority. When third round shields and short swords are mentioned, there are no other particulars worthy of notice.

XLIV. The people that next occur are the Suiones (*a*), who may be said to inhabit the ocean itself. In addition to the strength of their armies, they have a powerful naval force (*b*). The form of their ships is peculiar. Every vessel has a prow at each end, and by that contrivance is always ready to make head either way. Sails are not in use, nor is there a range of oars at the sides. The mariners, as often happens in the navigation of rivers, take different stations, and shift from one place to another, as the exigence may require. Riches are by this people held in great esteem (*c*); and the public mind, debased by that passion, yields to the government of one, with unconditional, with passive obedience. Despotism is here fully established. The people are not allowed to carry arms in common, like the rest of the German nations. An officer is appointed to keep in a magazine all the military weapons, and for this purpose a slave is always chosen. For this policy the ostensible reason is, that the ocean is their natural fence against foreign invasions, and in time of peace the giddy multitude, with arms ready at hand, soon proceeds from luxury to tumult and commotion. But the truth is, the jea-

lousy of a despotic prince does not think it safe to commit the care of his arsenal to the nobles or the men of ingenuous birth. Even a manumitted slave is not fit to be trusted.

XLV. At the further extremity beyond the Suiones there is another sea (*a*), whose sluggish waters seem to be in a state of stagnation. By this lazy element the globe is said to be encircled, and the supposition receives some colour of probability from an extraordinary phenomenon well known in those regions. The rays of the setting sun (*b*) continue till the return of day, to brighten the hemisphere with so clear a light, that the stars are imperceptible. To this it is added by vulgar credulity, that when the sun begins to rise, the sound of the emerging luminary is distinctly heard, and the very form of the horses, the blaze of glory round the head of the god, is palpable to the sight. The boundaries of nature, it is generally believed, terminate here (*c*).

On the coast to the right of the Suevian ocean (*d*) the Æstyans have fixed their habitation. In their dress and manners they re-

semble the Suevians, but their language has more affinity to the dialect of Britain. They worship the mother of the gods (*d*). The figure of a wild boar is the symbol of their superstition; and he, who has that emblem about him, thinks himself secure even in the thickest ranks of the enemy, without any need of arms, or any other mode of defence. The use of iron is unknown, and their general weapon is a club. In the cultivation of corn, and other fruits of the earth, they labour with more patience than is consistent with the natural laziness of the Germans. Their industry is exerted in another instance: they explore the sea for amber, in their language called GLESE (*e*), and are the only people who gather that curious substance. It is generally found among the shallows; sometimes on the shore. Concerning the nature or the causes of this concretion, the barbarians, with their usual want of curiosity, make no enquiry. Amongst other superfluities discharged by the sea, this substance lay long neglected, till Roman luxury gave it a name, and brought it into request. To the savages it is of no use. They gather it in rude heaps, and offer it to sale without any form or polish, wondering

at the price they receive for it. There is reason to think that amber is a distillation from certain trees (*f*), since in the transparent medium we see a variety of insects, and even animals of the wing, which, being caught in the viscous fluid, are afterwards, when it grows hard, incorporated with it. It is probable, therefore, that as the east has its luxuriant plantations, where balm and frankincense perspire through the pores of trees, so the continents and islands of the west have their prolific groves, whose juices, fermented by the heat of the sun, dissolve into a liquid matter, which falls into the sea, and, being there condensed, is afterwards discharged by the winds and waves on the opposite shore. If you make an experiment of amber by the application of fire, it kindles like a torch, emitting a fragrant flame, and, in a little time, taking the tenacious nature of pitch or rosin. Beyond the Suiones we next find the nation of Sitones (*g*), differing in nothing from the former, except the tameness, with which they suffer a woman to reign over them. Of this people it is not enough to say that they have degenerated from civil liberty: they are sunk below slavery itself. At this place ends the territory of the Suevians.

XLVI. WHETHER the Peucinians (*a*), the Venedians, and Fennians are to be accounted Germans, or classed with the people of Sarmatia (*b*), is a point not easy to be determined: though the Peucinians, called by some the Bastarnians, bear a strong resemblance to the Germans. They use the same language: their dress and habitations are the same, and they are equally inured to sloth and filth. Of late, however, in consequence of frequent intermarriages between their leading chieftains and the families of Sarmatia, they have been tainted with the manners of that country. The Venedians are a counterpart of the Sarmatians: like them they lead a wandering life, and support themselves by plunder amidst the woods and mountains, that separate the Peucinians and the Fennians. They are, notwithstanding, to be ascribed to Germany, inasmuch as they have settled habitations, know the use of shields, and travel always on foot, remarkable for their swiftness. The Sarmatians, on the contrary, live altogether on horseback or in waggons. Nothing can equal the ferocity of the Fennians (*c*), nor is there any thing so disgusting as their filth and poverty. Without

arms, without horses, and without a fixed place of abode, they lead a vagrant life; their food the common herbage; the skins of beasts their only clothing; and the bare earth their resting-place. For their chief support they depend on their arrows, to which, for want of iron, they prefix a pointed bone. The women follow the chase in company with the men, and claim their share of the prey. To protect their infants from the fury of wild beasts, and the inclemency of the weather, they make a kind of cradle amidst the branches of trees interwoven together, and they know no other expedient. The youth of the country have the same habitation, and amidst the trees old age is rocked to rest. Savage as this way of life may seem, they prefer it to the drudgery of the field, the labour of building, and the painful vicissitudes of hope and fear, which always attend the defence and the acquisition of property. Secure against the passions of men, and fearing nothing from the anger of the gods, they have attained that uncommon state of felicity, in which there is no craving left to form a single wish (*d*).

The rest of what I have been able to collect is too much involved in fable, of a colour with the accounts of the Hellusians and the Oxionians, of whom we are told, that they have the human face, with the limbs and bodies of wild beasts. But reports of this kind, unsupported by proof, I shall leave to the pen of others.

THE END.

THE

LIFE

OF

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

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The life of Agricola was written,

Year of Rome	Of Christ	Consuls.
850	97	*Nerva, emperor, 3d time.*
850	97	*Verginius Rufus.*

THE

LIFE

OF

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

I.

TO transmit to posterity the lives and characters of illustrious men, was an office frequently performed in ancient times. Even in the present age, incurious as it is about its own concerns (*a*), the same good custom has prevailed, whenever a great and splendid virtue has been able to surmount those two pernicious vices (*b*), which not only infest small communities, but are likewise the bane of large and flourishing cities; I mean the vices of insensibility to merit, on the one hand, and envy, on the other. With regard to the usage of antiquity, it is further observable, that, in those early seasons of virtue, men were led by the

impulse of a generous spirit to a course of action worthy of being recorded; and, in like manner, the writer of genius undertook to perpetuate the memory of honourable deeds, without any motives of flattery, and without views of private ambition, influenced only by the conscious pleasure of doing justice to departed merit. Many have been their own historians (*c*), persuaded that in speaking of themselves they should display an honest confidence in their morals, not a spirit of arrogance or vain-glory. Rutilius (*d*) and Scaurus left an account of their own lives, and the integrity of the narrative has never been called in question; so true it is, that the age, which is most fertile in bright examples, is the best qualified to make a fair estimate of them. For the present undertaking, which professes to review the life of a great man now no more, I judged it necessary to premise an apology, led as I am, by the nature of my subject, to encounter an evil period (*e*), in which every virtue struggled with adversity and oppression.

II. We have it upon record, that Arulenus Rusticus (*a*), for the panegyric of Pætus Thrasea, and Herennius Senecio (*b*), for that

of Helvidius Priscus, were both capitally convicted. Nor was it enough that those excellent authors fell a sacrifice to the tyrant's power; persecution raged against their books, and, by an order to the triumvirs, in the forum and the place of popular convention, the monuments of genius perished in the flames. The policy of the times, no doubt, intended that in the same fire the voice of the Roman people should be stifled, the freedom of the senate destroyed, and the sentiments of the human heart (*c*) suppressed for ever. To complete the work, all sound philosophy was proscribed, every liberal art was driven into banishment, and nothing fair and honourable was suffered to remain. Of our passive temper we gave ample proof; and as former times had tasted of liberty even to a degree of licentiousness, so we exhausted the bitter cup of slavery to the very dregs. Restrained by the terrors of a merciless inquisition from the commerce of hearing and speaking, and, by consequence, deprived of all exchange of sentiment, we should have resigned our memory with our other faculties, if to forget had been as easy as to submit in silence (*d*).

III. At length, indeed, we begin to revive from our lethargy; but we revive by slow degrees, though the emperor Nerva (*a*), in the beginning of this glorious æra, found means to reconcile two things, till then deemed incompatible; namely, civil liberty and the prerogative of the prince; though his successor Trajan continues to heal our wounds, and by a just and wise administration to diffuse the blessings of peace and good order through every part of the empire; and though it is apparent, that hopes of the constitution are now conceived by all orders of men, and not only conceived, but rising every hour into confidence and public security (*b*). And yet, such is the infirmity of the human mind, that, even in this juncture, the remedy operates more slowly than the disease. For as the body natural is tardy in its growth, and rapid in decay, so the powers of genius are more easily extinguished than promoted to their full maturity. There is a charm in indolence that works by imperceptible degrees; and that listless inactivity, which at first is irksome, grows delightful in the end.

Need I mention that in the course of fifteen years (c), a large portion of human life! many fell by unavoidable accidents, and the most illustrious men in Rome were cut off by the insatiate cruelty of the prince? A few of us, it is true, have survived the slaughter of our fellow-citizens; I had almost said, we have survived ourselves: for in that chasm, which slavery made in our existence, we cannot be said to have lived, but rather to have crawled in silence, the young towards the decrepitude of age, and the old to dishonourable graves. And yet I shall not regret the time I have spent in reviewing those days of despotism; on the contrary, it is my intention, even in such weak colouring as mine, to give a memorial of our slavery (*d*), that it may stand in contrast to the felicity of the present period.

In the mean time, the following tract is dedicated to the memory of Agricola, my father-in-law. The design, as it springs from filial piety, may merit a degree of approbation; it will, at least, be received with candour.

IV. Cnæus Julius Agricola was born

at the ancient and respectable colony of Forojulium (*a*). His grandfather, by the maternal as well as the paternal line, served the office of imperial procurator (*b*); a trust of importance, which always confers the equestrian dignity. His father, Julius Græcinus (*c*), was a member of the senate, distinguished by his eloquence and philosophy. His merit gave umbrage to Caligula. Being commanded by that emperor to undertake the prosecution of Marcus Silanus (*d*), he refused to comply, and was put to death. Julia Procilla (*e*), Agricola's mother, was respected for the purity of her manners. Under her care, and as it were in her bosom, the tender mind of the son was trained to science and every liberal accomplishment. His own ingenuous disposition guarded him against the seductions of pleasure. To that happy temperament was added the advantage of pursuing his studies at Marseilles (*f*), that seat of learning, where the refinements of Greece were happily blended with the sober manners of provincial economy.

He has often declared in my hearing, that in the first career of youth he felt himself ad-

dicted to philosophical speculations with more ardour than consisted with the duties of a Roman and a senator (*g*); but his taste was soon reformed by the admonitions of his mother. In fact, it cannot be matter of wonder, that a sublime and warm imagination, struck with the forms of moral beauty and the love of science, should aspire to reach the glory of the philosophic character. As he grew up to manhood, his riper judgement weaned him from vain pursuits, and during the rest of his life he preserved, what is difficult to attain, that temperate judgement, which knows where to fix the bounds even of wisdom itself.

V. His first rudiments of military knowledge were acquired in Britain (*a*), under the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus, that experienced officer; active, vigilant, yet mild in command. Agricola was soon distinguished by his general, and selected to live with him at head-quarters (*b*). Honoured in this manner, he did not, as is usual with young men, mix riot and dissipation with actual service; nor did he avail himself of his rank of military tribune to obtain leave of absence (*c*), in order to pass his time in idle pleasures and igno-

rance of his duty. To know the province, and make himself known to the army; to learn from men of experience, and emulate the best examples; to seek no enterprise with a forward spirit, and to decline none with timid caution, were the rules he laid down to himself; prudent with valour, and brave without ostentation.

A more active campaign had never been known, nor was Britain at any time so fiercely disputed (*d*). Our veteran forces were put to the sword; our colonies smoked on the ground; and the legions were intercepted on their march. The struggle was then for life; we fought afterwards for fame and victory. In a juncture so big with danger, though the conduct of the war was in other hands, and the glory of recovering the province was justly ascribed to the commander in chief, yet so fair an opportunity did not fail to improve a young officer, and plant in his mind the early seeds of military ambition. The love of fame took possession of him, that principle of noble minds, but out of season in an evil period, when virtue suffered by sinister constructions, and from an illustrious name the danger was

as great as from the most pernicious character.

VI. He returned from Britain to enter on the gradations of the civil magistracy, and married Domitia Decidiana, a lady of high rank and splendid descent. By that alliance he gained an accession of strength and credit, that served to forward him in the road to public honours. The conjugal state proved a source of domestic happiness. They lived in perfect harmony, endeared by the tenderest affection, and each ascribing to the other the felicity which they enjoyed. But the merit of Decidiana could not be too much acknowledged. The praise of a valuable wife should always rise in proportion to the weight of censure, that falls on such as violate the nuptial union.

Agricola obtained the office of quæstor (*a*); and the province of Asia, of which Salvius Titianus (*b*) was proconsul, fell to his lot. Neither the place nor the governor could warp his integrity. The wealth of the inhabitants invited the hand of rapacity; and Titianus, by the bias of his nature prone to acts of avarice,

was ready, on terms of mutual connivance, to co-operate in any scheme of guilt and plunder; but Agricola maintained his honour and his principles. During his stay in Asia his family was increased by the birth of a daughter, who proved soon after, when he lost his infant son, a source of consolation. The intermediate space between the expiration of his quæstorship and his advancement to the post of tribune of the people, he had the prudence to pass in calm tranquillity. Even during the year of his tribuneship (*c*) he acted with the same reserve, aware of those disastrous times, when, under the tyranny of Nero's reign, the want of exertion was the truest wisdom. He discharged the office of prætor with the same moderation and silent dignity, having no occasion, as his good fortune would have it, to sit in judicature (*d*). That branch of the magistrate's business did not fall to his share. The pageantry of public spectacles, which belonged to his department, he conducted with economy and magnificence, short of profusion, yet with due regard to popularity. In the following reign, being appointed by Galba one of the commissioners to inspect the state of oblations to the several temples (*e*), he managed

the enquiry with so much skill and well-tempered judgement, that no species of sacrilegious rapine, except the plunder committed by Nero, was suffered to pass without redress.

VII. In the course of (*a*) the following year a dreadful misfortune happened in his family, and proved to him a severe stroke of affliction. A descent, from Otho's fleet, which roved about in quest of depredations, was made on the coast of Liguria. The freebooters plundered the city of Intemelium (*b*), and in their fury murdered Agricola's mother, then residing upon her own estate. They laid waste her lands, and went off with a considerable booty. Agricola set out immediately to pay the last tribute of filial piety, and being informed on his way, that Vespasian aspired to the imperial dignity, he declared at once in favour of that party.

In the beginning of the new reign (*c*), the government of Rome, and the whole administration, centred in Mucianus, Domitian being, at that time, too young for business, and from the elevation of his father claiming no other privilege than that of being debauched and

profligate without controul. Agricola was dispatched to raise new levies. He executed that commission with so much zeal and credit to himself, that Mucianus advanced him to the command of the twentieth legion (*d*), then quartered in Britain, and for some time unwilling to swear fidelity to Vespasian. The officer, who had the command of that corps, was suspected of seditious practices, and the men had carried their insolence to such a pitch, that they were even formidable to the consular generals. Their commander was of prætorian rank; but either on account of his own disaffection, or the turbulent spirit of the soldiers, his authority was too feeble. Agricola succeeded to the command of the legion, and to the task of punishing the guilty. He acquitted himself with consummate address, and singular moderation, wishing that the men should have the merit of voluntary compliance, and not seem to have yielded, with sullen submission, to the authority of their general.

VIII. The government of Britain was at that time committed to Vettius Bolanus (*a*), a man of milder disposition than consisted with the genius of those ferocious islanders.

Agricola, that he might not seem to eclipse his superior officer, restrained his martial ardour, submitting with deference to his commander in chief, and, in every part of his conduct, uniting to his love of glory a due regard for the service. Bolanus was soon recalled, and Petilius Cerealis (*b*), an officer of consular rank, succeeded to the command. The field of warlike enterprise was laid open to Agricola. Under the new commander he was, at first, no more than a common sharer in the dangers of the campaign; but in a short time his talents had their free career. The general, to make his experiment, sent him at the head of detached parties, and afterwards, encouraged by the event, employed him in more important operations. Agricola never betrayed a symptom of vain glory. From the issue of his expeditions, however successful, he assumed no merit. It was the general that planned the measure, and he himself was no more than the hand that executed. By this conduct, vigorous in action, but modest in the report of his exploits, he gained a brilliant reputation, secure from the envy that attends it.

IX. On his return to Rome, Vespasian ad-

vanced him to the patrician rank (*a*), and soon after to the government of the province of Aquitania (*b*); an appointment of the first importance, leading directly to the honours of the consulship, to which he then aspired with the concurrence of the prince. The military mind, trained up in the school of war, is generally supposed to want the power of nice discrimination. The jurisdiction of the camp is little solicitous about forms and subtle reasoning; military law is blunt and summary, and, where the sword resolves all difficulties, the refined discussions of the forum are never practised. Agricola, however, indebted to nature for a certain rectitude of understanding, was not out of his sphere (*c*) even among men versed in questions of jurisprudence. His hours of business and relaxation had their stated periods. In the council of the province, or on the tribunal of justice, he discharged the duties of his station with awful gravity, intent to enquire, often severe, but more inclined to soften the rigour of the law. The functions of the magistrate being dispatched, he divested himself of his public character; the man in authority was no longer seen. In his actions no tincture of arrogance, no spleen, no avarice,

was ever seen. Uncommon as it may appear, the sweetness of his manners took nothing from his authority, nor was the impression made by his amiable qualities lessened by the inflexibility of the judge.

To say of a character truly great, that integrity and a spirit above corruption made a part of it, were mere tautology, as injurious to his virtues, as it is unnecessary. Even the love of fame, that fine incentive of generous minds, could neither betray him into an ostentatious display of virtue, nor induce him to practise those specious arts, that court applause, and often supply the place of merit. The little ambition of rising above his colleagues was foreign to his heart. He avoided all contention with the procurators of the prince. In struggles of that nature he knew that victory may be obtained without glory, and a defeat is certain disgrace. In less than three years he was recalled from his province, to take upon him the consular dignity. The voice of fame marked him out, at the same time, for the government of Britain: the report was current, but neither contrived, nor cultivated, by himself. He was mentioned,

because he was worthy. Common fame does not always err: it often takes the lead, and determines the choice. During his consulship (*d*), though I was then very young, he agreed to a marriage between me and his daughter, who certainly might have looked for a prouder connection. The nuptial ceremony was not performed till the term of his consulship expired. In a short time after he was appointed governor of Britain, with the additional honour of a seat in the pontificial college.

X. If I here presume to offer a description of Britain (*a*) and the manners of the people, it is not my intention to dispute with the number of authors, who have gone before me, either the fame of genius, or diligence in the research. The fact is, Britain was subdued under the conduct of Agricola, and that circumstance may justify the present attempt. Antecedent writers adorned conjecture with all the graces of language: what I have to offer will have nothing but the plain truth to recommend it.

Britain, of all the islands known to the Ro-

mans, is the largest. On the east, it extends towards Germany; on the west, towards Spain (*b*); and on the south, it lies opposite to the coast of Gaul. The northern extremity is lashed by the billows of a prodigious sea, and no land is known beyond it. The form of the island has been compared by two eloquent writers (Livy among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus among the moderns) to an oblong shield, or a two-edged ax. The comparison, if we except Caledonia, may be allowed to be just, and hence the shape of a part has been, by vulgar error, ascribed to the whole. Caledonia stretches a vast length of way towards the north. The promontories, that jut out into the sea, render the form of the country broken and irregular, but it sharpens to a point at the extremity, and terminates in the shape of a wedge.

By Agricola's order the Roman fleet (*c*) sailed round the northern point, and made the first certain discovery that Britain is an island. The cluster of isles called the Orcades (*d*), till then wholly unknown, was in this expedition added to the Roman empire. Thule (*e*), which had lain concealed in the gloom of win-

ter and a depth of eternal snows, was also seen by our navigators. The sea in those parts is said to be a sluggish mass of stagnated water (*f*), hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar, and never agitated by winds and tempests. The natural cause may be, that high lands and mountains, which occasion commotions in the air, are deficient in those regions; not to mention that such a prodigious body of water, in a vast and boundless ocean, is heaved and impelled with difficulty. But a philosophical account of the ocean and its periodical motions is not the design of this essay: the subject has employed the pen of others. To what they have said I shall only add, that there is not in any other part of the world an expanse of water that rages with such uncontrouled dominion, now receiving the discharge of various rivers, and, at times, driving their currents back to their source. Nor is it on the coast only that the flux and reflux of the tide are perceived: the swell of the sea forces its way into the recesses of the land, forming bays and islands in the heart of the country, and foaming amidst hills and mountains, as in its natural channel.

XI. WHETHER the first inhabitants of Britain were natives of the island (*a*), or adventitious settlers, is a question lost in the mists of antiquity. The Britons, like other barbarous nations, have no monuments of their history. They differ in the make and habit of their bodies, and hence various inferences concerning their origin. The ruddy hair and lusty limbs of the Caledonians (*b*) indicate a German extraction. That the Silures (*c*) were at first a colony of Iberians is concluded, not without probability, from the olive tincture of the skin, the natural curl of the hair, and the situation of the country, so convenient to the coast of Spain. On the side opposite to Gaul the inhabitants resemble their neighbours on the continent; but whether that resemblance is the effect of one common origin, or of the climate in contiguous nations operating on the make and temperament of the human body, is a point not easy to be decided. All circumstances considered, it is rather probable that a colony from Gaul took possession of a country so inviting by its proximity (*d*). You will find in both nations the same religious rites, and the same (*e*) superstition. The two languages differ but little (*f*). In provoking dan-

ger they discover the same ferocity, and in the encounter, the same timidity. The Britons, however, not yet enfeebled by a long peace, are possessed of superior courage (*g*). The Gauls, we learn from history, were formerly a warlike people; but sloth, the consequence of inactive times, has debased their genius, and virtue died with expiring liberty. Among such of the Britons (*h*), as have been for some time subdued, the same degeneracy is observable. The free and unconquered part of the nation retains at this hour the ferocity of the ancient Gauls.

XII. The strength of their armies consists in infantry, though some of their warriors take the field in chariots (*a*). The person of highest distinction guides the reins, while his martial followers, mounted in the same vehicle, assault the enemy. The Britons were formerly governed by a race of kings (*b*); at present they are divided into factions under various chieftains; and this disunion, which prevents their acting in concert for a public interest, is a circumstance highly favourable to the Roman arms against a warlike people, independent, fierce, and obstinate. A confe-

deration (c) of two or more states to repel the common danger is seldom known: they fight in parties, and the nation is subdued.

The climate is unfavourable; always damp with rains, and overcast with clouds. Intense cold is never felt. The days are longer than in our southern regions; the nights remarkably bright, and, towards the extremity of the island, so very short (d), that between the last gleam of day and the returning dawn the interval is scarce perceptible. In a serene sky, when no clouds intervene to obstruct the sight, the sun, we are told, appears all night long, neither setting in the west, nor rising in the east, but always moving above the horizon. The cause of this phenomenon may be, that the surface of the earth, towards the northern extremities, being flat and level, the shade never rises to any considerable height, and, the sky still retaining the rays of the sun (e), the heavenly bodies continue visible.

The soil does not afford either the vine, the olive, or the fruits of warmer climates: but it is otherwise fertile, and yields corn in great plenty. Vegetation is quick in shooting up,

and slow in coming to maturity. Both effects are reducible to the same cause, the constant moisture of the atmosphere and the dampness of the soil. Britain contains, to reward the conqueror, mines of gold and silver (*f*), and other metals. The sea produces pearls (*g*), but of a dark and livid colour. This defect is ascribed by some to want of skill in this kind of fishery: the people, employed in gathering, content themselves in gleaning what happens to be thrown upon the shore, whereas in the Red Sea the shell-fish are found clinging to the rocks, and taken alive. For my part, I am inclined to think that the British pearl is of an inferior quality. I cannot impute to avarice a neglect of its interest.

XIII. The Britons are willing to supply our armies with new levies; they pay their tribute without a murmur; and they perform all the services of government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden, and impatient: they are conquered, not broken-hearted; reduced to obedience, not subdued to slavery. Even Julius Cæsar, the first of the Romans (*a*) who set

his foot in Britain at the head of an army, can only be said by a prosperous battle to have struck the natives with terror, and to have made himself master of the sea-shore. The discoverer, not the conqueror of the island, he did no more than shew it to posterity. Rome could not boast of a conquest. The civil wars broke out soon after, and, in that scene of distraction, when the swords of the leading men were drawn against their country, it was natural to lose sight of Britain. During the peace that followed, the same neglect continued: Augustus called it the wisdom of his counsels (*b*), and Tiberius made it a rule of state-policy.

That Caligula meditated an invasion of Britain (*c*) is a fact well known; but the expedition, like his mighty preparations against Germany, was rendered abortive by the capricious temper of the man, resolving always without consideration, and repenting without experiment. The grand enterprise was reserved for the emperor Claudius (*d*), who transported into Britain an army composed of regular legions, besides a large body of auxiliaries. With the officers, appointed to con-

duct the war, he joined Vespasian, who there laid the foundation of that success which afterwards attended him. Several states were conquered, kings were led in captivity, and the Fates beheld Vespasian giving an earnest of his future glory.

XIV. The first officer of consular rank, that commanded in Britain, was Aulus Plautius (*a*). To him succeeded Ostorius Scapula (*b*); both eminent for their military character. Under their auspices the southern part of Britain took the form of a province, and received a colony of veterans (*c*). Certain districts were assigned to Cogidunus, a king who reigned over part of the country. He lived within our own memory, preserving always his faith unviolated, and exhibiting a striking proof of that refined policy, with which it has ever been the practice of Rome to make even kings accomplices in the servitude of mankind.

The next governor was Didius Gallus (*d*). He preserved the acquisitions made by his predecessors, without aiming at an extension of territory, and without any advantage, ex-

cept a few forts, which he built on the remote borders of the province, in hopes of gaining some pretension to the fame of having enlarged the frontier. Veranius (*e*) succeeded to the command, but died within the year. Suetonius Paulinus (*f*) was the next in succession. That officer pushed on the war in one continued series of prosperity for two years together. In that time he subdued several states, and secured his conquest by a chain of posts and garrisons. Confiding in the strength which he had thus established, he formed the plan of reducing the isle of Mona (*g*), the grand resource from which the malcontents drew their supplies. But having, in that expedition, turned his back on the conquered provinces, he gave an opportunity for a general revolt.

XV. The Britons, relieved from their fears by the absence of the commander in chief, began to descant on the horrors of slavery (*a*). They stated their grievances, and, to inflame resentment, painted every thing in the most glaring colours. "What was now the consequence of their passive spirit? The hand of "oppression falls on the tame and abject with

" greater weight. Each state was formerly
" subject to a single king (*b*), but now two
" masters rule with an iron rod. The general
" gluts himself with the blood of the vanquish-
" ed, and the imperial procurator devours our
" property. Those haughty tyrants may act
" in concert, or they may be at variance; but
" in either case the lot of the Britons is the
" same. The centurions of the general, and
" the followers of the tax-gatherer, add pride
" and insolence to injustice and rapacity.
" Nothing is safe from avarice, nothing by
" lust unviolated. In the field of battle, the
" booty is for the brave and warlike: at pre-
" sent, cowards and abject wretches seize the
" possessions of the natives; to them the Bri-
" tons tamely yield up their children; for
" them they make new levies, and, in short,
" the good of his country is the only cause in
" which a Briton has forgot to die. Com-
" pute the number of men, born in freedom,
" who inhabit the island, and the Roman in-
" vaders are but a handful. It was thus the
" Germans argued, and they shook off the
" yoke (*c*). No ocean rolled between them
" and the invader: they were separated by a
" river only. The Britons have every motive

"to excite their valour. They have their "country to defend, and they have their li- "berty to assert; they have wives and child- "ren to urge them on; and they have pa- "rents, who sue to them for protection. On "the part of the Romans, if we except luxury "and avarice, what incentives are there to "draw them to the field? Let British valour "emulate the virtue of ancient times, and the "invaders, like their own deified Cæsar, will "abandon the island. The loss of a single "battle, and even a second, cannot decide the "fate of a whole people. Many advantages "list on the side of misery. To attack with "fury, and persevere with constancy, belongs "to men who groan under oppression. The "gods, at length, behold the Britons with an "eye of compassion: they have removed the "Roman general from his station; they de- "tain him and his army in another island (*d*). "The oppressed have gained an advantage, "too often difficult to obtain; they can now "deliberate; they are met in council. In "designs like these, the whole danger lies in "being detected: act like men, and success "will be the issue of the war."

XVI. Inflamed by these and such like topics, the spirit of revolt was diffused through the country. With one consent they took up arms, under the conduct of Boadicea (*a*), a queen descended from a race of royal ancestors. In Britain there is no rule of distinction to exclude the female line from the throne, or the command of armies. The insurgents rushed to the attack with headlong fury; they found the Romans dispersed in their garrisons; they put all to the sword; they stormed the forts; they attacked the capital of the colony, which they considered as the seat of oppression, and with fire and sword laid it level with the ground. Whatever revenge could prompt, or victory inspire, was executed with unrelenting cruelty; and if Suetonius (*b*), on the first intelligence, had not hastened back by rapid marches, Britain had been lost. By the event of a single battle the province was recovered, though the embers of rebellion were not quite extinguished. Numbers of the malcontents, conscious of their share in the revolt, and dreading the vengeance of Suetonius, still continued under arms.

The truth is, notwithstanding the excellent qualities that distinguished the Roman general, it was the blemish of his character, that he proceeded always against the vanquished, even after they surrendered, with excessive rigour. Justice, under his administration, had frequently the air of revenge for a personal injury. In his public proceedings he mingled too much of his own passions, and was therefore recalled, to make way for Petronius Turpilianus (*c*), a man of less asperity, new to the Britons, and, having no resentments, likely to be satisfied on moderate terms. He restored the tranquillity of the island, and, without attempting any thing farther, resigned the province to Trebellius Maximus (*d*), an officer of no experience, by nature indolent and inactive, but possessed of certain popular arts that reconciled the minds of men to his administration. The Barbarians, at this time, had acquired a taste for elegant and alluring vices. The civil wars, which soon afterwards convulsed the empire, were a fair apology for the pacific temper of the general. His army, however, was not free from intestine discord. The soldiers, formerly inured to discipline, grew wanton in idleness, and broke out into

open sedition. To avoid the fury of his men, Trebellius was obliged to save himself by flight. Having lain for some time in a place of concealment, he returned with an awkward air to take upon him the command. His dignity was impaired, and his spirit humbled. From that time his authority was feeble and precarious. It seemed to be a compromise between the parties: the general remained unmolested, the soldiers uncontrouled, and on these terms the mutiny ended without bloodshed. Vettius Bolanus (*e*) was the next commander; but the distractions of the civil war still continuing, he did not think it advisable to introduce a plan of regular discipline. The same inactive disposition on the part of the general, and the same mutinous spirit among the soldiers, still prevailed. The only difference was, that the character of Bolanus was without a blemish. If he did not establish his authority, he lived on good terms with all; beloved, though not respected.

XVII. When Britain, with the rest of the Roman world, fell to the lot of Vespasian, the ablest officers were sent to reduce the island; powerful armies were set in motion, and the

spirit of the natives began to droop. In order to spread a general terror, Petilius Cerealis (*a*) fell with sudden fury on the Brigantes (*b*), in point of numbers the most considerable state in the whole province. Various battles were fought, with alternate success, and great effusion of blood. At length the greatest part of that extensive country was either subdued, or involved in all the calamities of war. The fame of Cerealis grew to a size that might discourage the ablest successor; and yet under that disadvantage Julius Frontinus (*c*) undertook the command. His talents did not suffer by the comparison. He was a man truly great, and sure to signalize himself, whenever a fair opportunity called forth his abilities. He reduced to subjection the powerful and warlike state of the Silures (*d*), and, though in that expedition he had to cope not only with a fierce and obstinate enemy, but with the difficulties of a country almost impracticable, it was his glory that he surmounted every obstacle.

XVIII. Such was the state of Britain, and such the events of war, when Agricola arrived about the middle of summer (*a*) to take upon

him the command. He found an army lulled in indolence and security, as if the campaign was at an end, while the enemy was on the watch to seize the first opportunity. The Ordovicians (*b*), not long before his arrival, had fallen upon a party of horse, that happened to be quartered in their district, and put them almost all to the sword. By this blow the courage of the Britons was once more revived: the bold and resolute declared for open war, while others, less sanguine, were against unsheathing the sword, till the character and genius of the new governor should be better known.

Many things conspired to embarrass Agricola; the summer was far advanced; the troops were stationed at different quarters, expecting a cessation of arms during the remainder of the year: and to act on the defensive, content with strengthening the weakest stations, was in the opinion of the best officers the most prudent measure. These were circumstances unfavourable to a spirit of enterprise; but the general resolved to put his army in motion, and face the danger without delay. For this purpose, he drew together various detach-

ments from the legions, and, with the addition of a body of auxiliaries, marched against the enemy. The Ordovicians continuing to decline an engagement on the open plain, he determined to seek them on their heights; and, to animate his men by his own example, he advanced at the head of the line. A battle ensued, and the issue was the destruction of the Ordovician state. Knowing of what moment it is to follow the first impressions of fame, and little doubting but that every thing would fall before an army flushed with victory, Agricola formed a plan for the reduction of the isle of Mona (c), from which Paulinus had been recalled by the general insurrection of the province, as already mentioned.

For the execution of an enterprise so sudden and important, no measures had been concerted, and by consequence no vessels were ready to transport the troops. The genius and resolution of the general supplied all deficiencies. He draughted from the auxiliaries a chosen band, well acquainted with the fordable places, and, inured to the national practice of swimming across lakes and rivers with such dexterity, that they could manage their arms and guide their horses at the same time. This select

corps, free from the incumbrance of their baggage, dashed into the water, and made their way with vigour towards the island. This mode of attack astonished the enemy, who expected nothing less than a fleet of transports, and a regular embarkation. Struck with consternation, they thought nothing impregnable to men who waged so unusual a war. In despair they sued for peace, and surrendered the island. The event added new lustre to the name of Agricola, who had thus set out with a spirit of enterprise, and crowded so much glory into that part of the year, which is usually trifled away in vain parade and the homage of flatteries. The moderation with which he enjoyed his victory was remarkable. He had reduced the vanquished to obedience, and the act, he said, did not deserve the name of victory, nor even of an expedition. In his dispatches to Rome he assumed no merit, nor were his letters, according to custom, decorated (*d*) with sprigs of laurel: but this self-denial served only to enhance his fame. From the modesty of a commander who could undervalue such important services, men inferred that projects of vast extent were even then in his contemplation.

XIX. AGRICOLA was well acquainted with the manners and national character of the Britons: he knew by the experience of past events, that conquest, while it loads the vanquished with injury and oppression, can never be secure and permanent. He determined, therefore, to suppress the seeds of future hostility. He began a reform in his own household; a necessary work, but attended often with no less difficulty than the administration of a province. He removed his slaves and freedmen from every department of public business. Promotions in the army no longer went by favour, or the partiality of the centurions; merit decided, and the man of worth, Agricola knew, would be the most faithful soldier. To know every thing, and yet overlook a great deal; to forgive slight offences(*a*), and treat matters of importance with due severity, was the rule of his conduct; never vindictive, and in many instances disarmed by penitence. The prevention of crimes was what he wished, and to that end, in the disposal of offices he made choice of men, whose conduct promised to supersede the necessity of punishment.

The exigencies of the army called for large contributions of corn and other supplies, and yet he lightened the burden by just and equal assessments, providing at the same time against the extortion of the tax-gatherer (*b*), more odious and intolerable than even the tax itself. It had been the settled practice of the collectors to engross all the corn, and then, adding mockery to injustice, to make the injured Briton wait at the door of the public granary (*c*), humbly supplicating that he might be permitted to repurchase his own grain, which he was afterwards obliged to sell at an inferior price. A further grievance was, that, instead of delivering the requisite quantity of corn at the nearest and most convenient magazines, the Britons were forced to make tedious journeys through difficult cross-country roads, in order to supply camps and stations at a remote distance; and thus the business, which might have been conducted with convenience to all, was converted into a job to gratify the avarice of a few.

XX. In the first year of Agricola's administration these abuses were all suppressed. The

consequence was, that peace, which through the neglect or connivance of former governors was no less terrible than war itself, began to diffuse its blessings, and to be relished by all. As soon as the (*a*) summer opened, he assembled his army and marched in quest of the enemy. Ever present at the head of the lines, he encouraged the strenuous by commendation; he rebuked the sluggard who fell from his rank; he went in person to mark out the station for encampments (*b*); he sounded the æstuaries, and explored the woods and forests (*c*). The Britons, in the mean time, were by sudden incursions kept in a constant alarm. Having spread a general terror through the country, he then suspended his operations, that, in the interval of repose, the Barbarians might taste the sweets of peace. In consequence of these measures, several states, which till then had breathed a spirit of independence, were induced to lay aside their hostile intentions, and to give hostages for their pacific behaviour. Along the frontier of the several districts which had submitted, a chain of posts was established, with so much care and judgement, that no part of the country, even where the Roman arms had never penetrated, could

think itself secure from the vigour of the conqueror.

XXI. To introduce a system of new and wise regulations was the business of the following winter. A fierce and savage people, running wild in woods, would be ever addicted to a life of warfare. To wean them from those habits, Agricola held forth the baits of pleasure, encouraging the natives, as well by public assistance, as by warm exhortations, to build temples (*a*), courts of justice, and commodious dwelling-houses. He bestowed encomiums on such as cheerfully obeyed: the slow and uncomplying were branded with reproach; and thus a spirit of emulation diffused itself, operating like a sense of duty. To establish a plan of education, and give the sons of the leading chiefs a tincture of letters, was part of his policy. By way of encouragement, he praised their talents, and already saw them, by the force of their natural genius, rising superior (*b*) to the attainments of the Gauls. The consequence was, that they, who had always disdained the Roman language, began to cultivate its beauties. The Roman apparel was seen without prejudice, and the toga became

a fashionable part of dress. By degrees the charms of vice gained admission to their hearts: baths, and porticos, and elegant banquets, grew into vogue; and the new manners, which, in fact, served only to sweeten slavery, were by the unsuspecting Britons called the arts of polished humanity.

XXII. In the course of the third year (*a*) the progress of the Roman arms discovered new nations, whose territories were laid waste as far as the æstuary, called the Firth of Tay (*b*). The legions had to struggle with all the difficulties of a tempestuous season; and yet the Barbarians, struck with a general panic, never dared to hazard an engagement. The country, as far as the Romans advanced, was secured by forts and garrisons (*c*). Men of skill and military science observed that no officer knew better than Agricola, how to seize, on a sudden view, the most advantageous situation, and, accordingly, not one of the stations, fortified by his direction, was taken by storm; not one was reduced to capitulate; not one was surrendered or abandoned to the enemy. At every post, to enable the garrison to stand a siege, a year's provision was provid-

ed, and, each place having strength sufficient, frequent sallies were made; the besiegers were repulsed; and the Romans passed the winter secure from danger. The consequence of these precautions was, that the enemy, who had been accustomed to retrieve in the winter what they lost in the antecedent summer, saw no difference of seasons: they were defeated every where, and reduced to the last despair. Avarice of fame was no part of Agricola's character; nor was he ever known to arrogate to himself the praises due to other officers. From the commander of a legion to the lowest centurion, all found in their general a willing witness of their conduct. In his manner of expressing his disapprobation, he was thought to mix a degree of asperity. The truth is, his antipathy to bad men was equalled by nothing but his politeness to the deserving. His anger soon passed away, and left no trace behind. From his silence you had nothing to fear. Scorning to disguise his sentiments, he acted always with a generous warmth, at the hazard of making enemies. To harbour secret resentment was not in his nature.

XXIII. The business of the fourth cam-

paign (*a*) was to secure the country, which had been over-run, not conquered, in the preceding summer; and if the spirit of the troops and the glory of the Roman name had been capable of suffering any limits, there was in Britain itself a convenient spot, where the boundary of the empire might have been fixed. The place for that purpose was, where the waters of the Glota and Bodotria (*b*), driven up the country by the influx of two opposite seas, are hindered from joining by a narrow neck of land, which was then guarded by a chain of forts (*c*). On the south side of the isthmus the whole country was bridled by the Romans, and evacuated by the enemy, who was driven, as it were, into another island (*d*).

XXIV. In the fifth summer (*a*) Agricola made an expedition by sea. He embarked in the first Roman vessel that ever crossed the æstuary (*b*), and having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast, which lies opposite to Ireland, with a body of troops; not so much from an apprehension of danger, as with a view to future

projects. He saw that Ireland, lying between Britain and Spain, and at the same time convenient to the ports of Gaul, might prove a valuable acquisition, capable of giving an easy communication, and, of course, strength and union, to provinces disjoined by nature.

Ireland is less than Britain, but exceeds in magnitude all the islands of the Mediterranean. The soil, the climate, the manners and genius of the inhabitants, differ little from those of Britain. By the means of merchants resorting thither for the sake of commerce, the harbours and approaches to the coast are well known. One of their petty kings (c) who had been forced to fly from the fury of a domestic faction, was received by the Roman general, and, under a shew of friendship, detained to be of use on some future occasions. I have often heard Agricola declare that a single legion, with a moderate band of auxiliaries, would be sufficient to complete the conquest of Ireland. Such an event, he said, would contribute greatly to bridle the stubborn spirit of the Britons, who, in that case, would see, with dismay, the Roman arms triumphant, and every spark of liberty extinguished round their coast.

XXV. In the campaign (*a*), which began in the sixth summer, having reason to apprehend a general confederacy of the nations beyond the Firth of Bodotria, and fearing, in a country not yet explored, the danger of a surprise, Agricola ordered his ships to sail across the gulf (*b*), and gain some knowledge of those new regions. The fleet, now acting, for the first time, in concert with the land-forces, proceeded in sight of the army, forming a magnificent spectacle, and adding terror to the war. It frequently happened, that in the same camp were seen the infantry and cavalry intermixed with the marines, all indulging their joy, full of their adventures, and magnifying the history of their exploits; the soldier describing, in the usual style of military ostentation, the forests which he had passed, the mountains which he climbed, and the Barbarians whom he put to the rout; while the sailor, no less important, had his storms and tempests, the wonders of the deep, and the spirit with which he conquered winds and waves.

At the sight of the Roman fleet, the Britons, according to intelligence gained from the

prisoners, were struck with consternation, convinced that every resource was cut off, since the sea, which had always been their shelter, was now laid open to the invader. In this distress, the Caledonians resolved to try the issue of a battle. Warlike preparations were instantly begun with a degree of exertion, great in reality, but, as is always the case in matters obscure and distant, magnified by the voice of fame. Without waiting for the commencement of hostilities, they stormed the Roman forts and castles (*c*), and by provoking danger, made such an impression, that several officers in Agricola's army, disguising their fear under the specious appearance of prudent counsels, recommended a sudden retreat, to avoid the disgrace of being driven back to the other side of the Firth. Meanwhile Agricola received intelligence that the enemy meditated an attack in various quarters at once, and thereupon, lest superior numbers, in a country where he was a stranger to the defiles and passes, should be able to surround him, he divided his army, and marched forward in three columns.

XXVI. The Caledonians, informed of

this arrangement, changed their plan, and, in the dead of night, fell with their united force upon the ninth legion (*a*), then the weakest of the Roman army. They surprised the advanced guard, and having, in the confusion of sleep and terror, put the sentinels to the sword, they forced their way through the intrenchments. The conflict was in the very camp, when Agricola, who had been informed that the Barbarians were on their march, and instantly pursued their steps, came up to the relief of the legion. He ordered the swiftest of the horse and light infantry to advance with expedition, and charge the enemy in the rear, while his whole army set up a general shout. At break of day the Roman banners glittered in view of the Barbarians, who found themselves hemmed in by two armies, and began to relax their vigour. The spirit of the legion revived. The men perceived that the moment of distress was over, and the struggle was now for glory. Acting no longer on the defensive, they rushed on to the attack. In the very gates (*b*) of the camp a fierce and obstinate engagement followed. The besieged legion, and the forces that came to their relief, fought with a spirit of emulation; the

latter contending for the honour of succouring the distressed, and the former, to prove that they stood in no need of assistance. The Caledonians were put to the rout; and if the woods and marshes (c) had not favoured their escape, that single action had put an end to the war.

XXVII. By this victory, so complete and glorious, the Roman army was inspired with confidence to such a degree, that they now pronounced themselves invincible. Nothing could stand before them: they desired to be led into the recesses of the country, and, by following their blow, to penetrate to the extremity of the island. Even the prudent of the day before changed their tone with the event, and talked of nothing but victory and conquest. Such is the tax, which the commanders of armies must always pay: the merit of success is claimed by all; calamity is imputed to the general only.

The Caledonians, notwithstanding their defeat, abated nothing from their ferocity. Their want of success, they said, was not to be ascribed to superior courage; it was the chance

of war, or, perhaps, the skill of the Roman general. In this persuasion they resolved to keep the field. They listed the young men of their nation; they sent their wives and children to a place of safety; they held public conventions of the several states, and with solemn rites and sacrifices (*a*) formed a league in the cause of liberty. The campaign ended in this manner, and the two armies, inflamed with mutual animosity, retired into winter-quarters.

XXVIII. In the course of the same summer, a cohort of the Usipians (*a*) which had been raised in Germany, and thence transported to serve in Britain, performed an exploit so daring and extraordinary, that in this place it may be allowed to merit attention. Having murdered the centurion, who was left in command, and also the soldiers, who, for the purpose of introducing military discipline, had been incorporated with the several companies (*b*), they seized three light galleys, and forcing the masters on board, determined to sail from the island. One of the pilots made his escape, and suspicion falling on the other two, they were both killed on the spot. Be-

fore their design transpired, the deserters put to sea, to the astonishment of all who beheld the vessels under way.

They had not sailed far, when they became the sport of winds and waves. They made frequent descents on the coast in quest of plunder, and had various conflicts with the natives, victorious in some places, and in others beat back to their ships. Reduced at length to the extremity of famine, they fed on their companions, at first devouring the weakest, and afterwards deciding among themselves by lot. In this distress they sailed round the extremity of the island (*c*), and, through want of skill in navigation, were wrecked on the continent, where they were treated as pirates, first by the Suevians, and afterwards by the Frisians. Being sold to slavery, and in the way of commerce turned over to different masters, some of them reached the Roman settlements on the banks of the Rhine, and there grew famous for their sufferings, and the bold singularity of their voyage. In the beginning of the following summer (*d*) Agricola met with a stroke of affliction by the loss of a son, about a year old. He did not upon this occasion

affect, like many others, the character of a man superior to the feelings of nature; nor yet did he suffer his grief to sink him down into unbecoming weakness. He felt the impression, but regret was lost in the avocations of war.

XXIX. In the opening of the campaign, he dispatched his fleet, with orders to annoy the coast by frequent descents in different places, and spread a general alarm. He put himself, in the mean time, at the head of his army equipped for expedition, and taking with him a select band of the bravest Britons, of known and approved fidelity, he advanced as far as the Grampian hills (*a*), where the enemy was already posted in force. Undismayed by their former defeat, the Barbarians expected no other issue than a total overthrow, or a brave revenge. Experience had taught them that the common cause required a vigorous exertion of their united strength. For this purpose, by treaties of alliance, and by deputations to the several cantons, they had drawn together the strength of their nation. Upwards of thirty thousand men appeared in arms, and their force was increasing every day. The youth of the country poured in from all quar-

ters, and even the men in years, whose vigour was still unbroken, repaired to the army, proud of their past exploits, and the ensigns of honour which they had gained by their martial spirit. Among the chieftains, distinguished by their birth and valour, the most renowned was Galgacus (*b*). The multitude gathered round him, eager for action, and burning with uncommon ardour. He harangued them to the following effect:

XXX. "When I consider the motives "that have roused us to this war; when I re-"flect on the necessity that now demands our "firmest vigour, I expect every thing great "and noble from that union of sentiment that "pervades us all. From this day I date the "freedom of Britain. We are the men, who "never crouched in bondage. Beyond this "spot there is no land, where liberty can find "a refuge. Even the sea is shut against us, "while the Roman fleet is hovering on the "coast. To draw the sword in the cause of "freedom is the true glory of the brave, and, "in our condition, cowardice itself would "throw away the scabbard. In the battles, "which have been hitherto fought with alter-

" nate vicissitudes of fortune, our countrymen
" might well repose some hopes in us; they
" might consider us as their last resource;
" they knew us to be the noblest sons of Bri-
" tain, placed in the last recesses of the land,
" in the very sanctuary of liberty. We have
" not so much as seen the melancholy regions,
" where slavery has debased mankind. We
" have lived in freedom, and our eyes have
" been unpolluted by the sight of ignoble
" bondage.

" The extremity of the earth is ours: de-
" fended by our situation, we have to this day
" preserved our honour and the rights of men.
" But we are no longer safe in our obscurity:
" our retreat is laid open; the enemy rushes
" on, and, as things unknown are ever magni-
" fied, he thinks a mighty conquest lies before
" him. But this is the end of the habitable
" world, and rocks and brawling waves fill all
" the space behind. The Romans are in the
" heart of our country; no submission can
" satisfy their pride; no concessions can ap-
" pease their fury. While the land has any
" thing left, it is the theatre of war; when it
" can yield no more, they explore the seas for

"hidden treasure. Are the nations rich, Ro-
"man avarice is their enemy. Are they poor,
"Roman ambition lords it over them. The
"east and the west have been rifled, and the
"spoiler is still insatiate. The Romans, by a
"strange singularity of nature, are the only
"people who invade, with equal ardour, the
"wealth and the poverty of nations. To rob,
"to ravage, and to murder, in their imposing
"language, are the arts of civil policy. When
"they have made the world a solitude, they
"call it peace.

XXXI. "Our children and relatives are
"dear to us all. It is an affection planted in
"our breast by the hand of nature. And yet
"those tender pledges are ravished from us to
"serve in distant lands. Are our wives, our
"sisters, and our daughters, safe from brutal
"lust and open violation? The insidious con-
"queror, under the mask of hospitality and
"friendship, brands them with dishonour.
"Our money is conveyed into their treasury,
"and our corn into their granaries. Our
"limbs and bodies are worn out in clearing
"woods, and draining marshes: and what
"have been our wages? Stripes and insult.

"The lot of the meanest slave, born in servi-
"tude, is preferable to ours: he is sold but
"once, and his master maintains him; but
"Britain every day invites new tyrants, and
"every day pampers their pride. In a pri-
"vate family the slave, who is last bought in,
"provokes the mirth and ridicule of the whole
"domestic crew; and in this general servitude,
"to which Rome has reduced the world, the
"case is the same: we are treated, at first, as
"objects of derision, and then marked out for
"destruction.

"What better lot can we expect? We have
"no arable lands to cultivate for a master; no
"mines to dig for his avarice; no harbours to
"improve for his commerce. To what end
"should the conqueror spare us? Our virtue
"and undaunted spirit are crimes in the eyes
"of the conqueror, and will render us more
"obnoxious. Our remote situation, hitherto
"the retreat of freedom, and on that account
"the more suspected, will only serve to inflame
"the jealousy of our enemies. We must ex-
"pect no mercy. Let us therefore dare like
"men. We all are summoned by the great
"call of nature; not only those who know the

" value of liberty, but even such as think life
" on any terms the dearest blessing. The
" Trinobantes (*a*), who had only a woman
" to lead them on, were able to carry fire and
" sword through a whole colony. They
" stormed the camps of the enemy, and, if
" success had not intoxicated them, they had
" been, beyond all doubt, the deliverers of
" their country. And shall not we, uncon-
" quered, and undebased by slavery, a nation
" ever free, and struggling now, not to reco-
" ver, but to ensure our liberties (*b*), shall we
" not go forth the champions of our country?
" Shall we not, by one generous effort, show
" the Romans, that we are the men whom
" Caledonia has reserved to be assertors of the
" public weal?

XXXII. " We know the manners of the
" Romans: and are we to imagine that their
" valour in the field is equal to their arrogance
" in time of peace? By our dissensions their
" glory rises; the vices of their enemies are
" the negative virtues of the Roman army; if
" that may be called an army, which is no
" better than a motley crew of various nations,
" held together by success, and ready to crum-

"ble away in the first reverse of fortune.
"That this will be their fate, no one can
"doubt, unless we suppose that the Gaul, the
"German, and (with shame I add) the Bri-
"tons, a mercenary band, who hire their
"blood in a foreign service, will adhere from
"principle to a new master, whom they have
"lately served, and long detested. They are
"now enlisted by awe and terror: break their
"fetters, and the man who forgets to fear, will
"seek revenge.

"All that can inspire the human heart,
"every motive that can excite us to deeds of
"valour, is on our side. The Romans have
"no wives (*a*) in the field to animate their
"drooping spirit; no parents to reproach their
"want of courage. They are not listed in the
"cause of their country: their country, if any
"they have (*b*), lies at a distance. They
"are a band of mercenaries, a wretched hand-
"ful of devoted men, who tremble and look
"aghast as they roll their eyes around, and
"see on every side objects unknown before.
"The sky over their heads, the sea, the woods,
"all things conspire to fill them with doubt
"and terror. They come like victims, deli-

" vered into our hands by the gods, to fall this
" day a sacrifice to freedom.

" In the ensuing battle be not deceived by
" false appearances; the glitter of gold and
" silver (*c*) may dazzle the eye; but to us it is
" harmless, to the Romans no protection. In
" their own ranks we shall find a number of
" generous warriors ready to assist our cause.
" The Britons know that for our common li-
" berties we draw the avenging sword. The
" Gauls will remember that they once were a
" free people; and the Germans, as the Usi-
" pians (*d*) lately did, will desert their colours.
" The Romans have left nothing in their rear
" to oppose us in the pursuit; their forts are
" ungarrisoned; the veterans in their colonies
" droop with age; in their municipal towns,
" nothing but anarchy, despotic government,
" and disaffected subjects. In me behold your
" general; behold an army of freeborn men.
" Your enemy is before you, and, in his train,
" heavy tributes, drudgery in the mines, and
" all the horrors of slavery. Are those cala-
" mities to be entailed upon us? Or shall this
" day relieve us by a brave revenge? There is
" the field of battle, and let that determine.

"Let us seek the enemy, and, as we rush "upon him, remember the glory delivered "down to us by our ancestors; and let each "man think that upon his sword depends the "fate of all posterity."

XXXIII. THIS speech was received, according to the custom of Barbarians, with war songs, with savage howlings, and a wild uproar of military applause. Their battalions began to form the line of battle; the brave and warlike rushed forward to the front, and the field glittered with the blaze of arms. The Romans on their side burned with equal ardour. Agricola saw the impatient spirit of his men, but did not think proper to begin the engagement, till he confirmed their courage by the following speech: "It is now, my fellow-soldiers, the eighth year (*a*) of our service in "Britain. During that time, the genius and "good auspices of the Roman empire, with "your assistance and unwearied labour, have "made the island our own. In all our expeditions, in every battle, the enemy has felt "your valour, and by your toil and perseverance the very nature of the country has "been conquered. I have been proud of my

"soldiers, and you have had no reason to blush
"for your general. We have carried the ter-
"ror of our arms beyond the limits of any
"other soldiers, or any former general (*b*);
"we have penetrated to the extremity of
"the land. This was formerly the boast of
"vain-glory, the mere report of fame; it is
"now historical truth. We have gained pos-
"session sword in hand; we are encamped
"on the utmost limits of the island. Britain
"is discovered, and by the discovery con-
"quered.

"In our long and laborious marches, when
"you were obliged to traverse moors, and fens,
"and rivers, and to climb steep and craggy
"mountains, it was still the cry of the bravest
"amongst you, When shall we be led to battle?
"When shall we see the enemy? Behold
"them now before you. They are hunted
"out of their dens and caverns; your wish is
"granted, and the field of glory lies open to
"your swords. One victory more makes this
"new world our own; but remember that a
"defeat involves us all in the last distress. If
"we consider the progress of our arms, to look
"back is glorious; the tract of country that

"lies behind us, the forests which you have "explored, and the æstuaries which you have "passed, are monuments of eternal fame. "But our fame can only last, while we press "forward on the enemy. If we give ground, "if we think of a retreat, we have the same "difficulties to surmount again. The success, "which is now our pride, will in that case be "our worst misfortune. We are not suffi-"ciently acquainted with the course of the "country; the enemy knows the defiles and "marshes, and will be supplied with provisions "in abundance. We have not those advan-"tages, but we have hands that can grasp the "sword, and we have valour (*c*), that gives "us every thing. With me it has long been "a settled principle, that the back of a general "or his army is never safe. Which of you "would not rather die with honour, than live "in infamy? But life and honour are this day "inseparable; they are fixed to one spot. "Should fortune declare against us, we die "on the utmost limits of the world; and to "die where nature ends, cannot be deemed "inglorious.

XXXIV. "If our present struggle were

"with nations wholly unknown; if we had
"to do with an enemy new to our swords, I
"should call to mind the example of other
"armies. At present what can I propose so
"bright and animating as your own exploits?
"I appeal to your own eyes: behold the men
"drawn up against you: are they not the
"same, who last year, under covert of the
"night, assaulted the ninth legion (*a*), and,
"upon the first shout of our army, fled before
"you? A band of dastards! who have sub-
"sisted hitherto, because of all the Britons
"they are the most expeditious runaways.

"In woods and forests the fierce and noble
"animals attack the huntsmen, and rush on
"certain destruction; but the timorous herd
"is soon dispersed, scared by the sound and
"clamour of the chase. In like manner, the
"brave and warlike Britons have long since
"perished by the sword. The refuse of the
"nation still remains. They have not staid
"to make head against you; they are hunt-
"ed down; they are caught in the toils. Be-
"numbed with fear, they stand motionless on
"yonder spot, which you will render for ever
"memorable by a glorious victory. Here you

"may end your labours, and close a scene of "fifty years (*b*) by one great, one glorious "day. Let your country see, and let the "commonwealth bear witness, if the conquest "of Britain has been a lingering work, if the "seeds of rebellion have not been crushed, "that we at least have done our duty."

XXXV. During this harangue, whilst Agricola was still addressing the men, a more than common ardour glowed on every countenance. As soon as the general ended, the field rung with shouts of applause. Impatient for the onset, the soldiers grasped their arms. Agricola restrained their violence, till he formed his order of battle. The auxiliary infantry (*a*), in number about eight thousand, occupied the centre. The wings consisted of three thousand horse. The legions were stationed in the rear, at the head of the intrenchments, as a body of reserve to support the ranks, if necessary, but otherwise to remain inactive, that a victory, obtained without the effusion of Roman blood, might be of higher value.

The Caledonians kept possession of the rising grounds, extending their ranks as wide

as possible, to a present a formidable show of battle. Their first line was ranged on the plain, the rest in a gradual ascent on the acclivity of the hill. The intermediate space between both armies was filled with the charioteers (*b*) and cavalry of the Britons, rushing to and fro in wild career, and traversing the plain with noise and tumult. The enemy being greatly superior in number, there was reason to apprehend that the Romans might be attacked both in front and flank at the same time. To prevent that mischief, Agricola ordered his ranks to form a wider range. Some of the officers saw that the lines were weakened into length, and therefore advised that the legions should be brought forward into the field of action. But the general was not of a temper to be easily dissuaded from his purpose. Flushed with hope, and firm in the hour of danger, he immediately dismounted, and, dismissing his horse, took his stand at the head of the colours.

XXXVI. The battle began, and at first was maintained at a distance. The Britons neither wanted skill nor resolution. With their long swords, and targets (*a*) of small di-

mension, they had the address to elude the missive weapons of the Romans, and at the same time to discharge a thick volley of their own. To bring the conflict to a speedy decision, Agricola ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts (*b*) to charge the enemy sword in hand. To this mode of attack those troops had been long accustomed, but to the Britons it was every way disadvantageous. Their small targets afforded no protection, and their unwieldy swords, not sharpened to a point (*c*), could do but little execution in a close engagement. The Batavians rushed to the attack with impetuous fury; they redoubled their blows, and with the bosses of their shields bruised the enemy in the face, and, having overpowered all resistance on the plain, began to force their way up the ascent of the hill in regular order of battle. Incited by their example, the other cohorts advanced with a spirit of emulation, and cut their way with terrible slaughter. Eager in pursuit of victory, they pressed forward with determined fury, leaving behind them numbers wounded, but not slain, and others not so much as hurt.

The Roman cavalry, in the mean time, was forced to give ground (d). The Caledonians, in their armed chariots, rushed at full speed into the thick of the battle, where the infantry were engaged. Their first impression struck a general terror, but their career was soon checked by the inequalities of the ground, and the close-embodied ranks of the Romans. Nothing could less resemble an engagement of the cavalry. Pent up in narrow places, the Barbarians crowded upon each other, and were driven or dragged along by their own horses. A scene of confusion followed. Chariots without a guide, and horses without a rider, broke from the ranks in wild disorder, and flying every way, as fear and consternation urged, they overwhelmed their own files, and trampled down all who came in their way.

XXXVII. Meanwhile the Britons, who had hitherto kept their post on the hills, looking down with contempt on the scanty numbers of the Roman army, began to quit their station. Descending slowly, they hoped, by wheeling round the field of battle, to attack the victors in the rear. To counteract their

design, Agricola ordered four squadrons of horse, which he had kept as a body of reserve, to advance to the charge. The Britons poured down with impetuosity, and retired with equal precipitation. At the same time, the cavalry, by the directions of the general, wheeled round from the wings, and fell with great slaughter on the rear of the enemy, who now perceived that their own stratagem was turned against themselves.

The field presented a dreadful spectacle of carnage and destruction. The Britons fled; the Romans pursued; they wounded, gashed, and mangled, the runaways; they seized their prisoners, and, to be ready for others, butchered them on the spot (*a*). Despair and horror appeared in various shapes: in one part of the field the Caledonians, sword in hand, fled in crowds from a handful of Romans; in other places, without a weapon left, they faced every danger and rushed on certain death. Swords and bucklers, mangled limbs and dead bodies, covered the plain. The field was red with blood. The vanquished Britons had their moments of returning courage, and gave proofs of virtue and of brave despair. They fled to

the woods, and, rallying their scattered numbers, surrounded such of the Romans as pursued with too much eagerness.

Agricola was every where present. He saw the danger, and, if he had not in the instant taken due precaution, the victorious army would have had reason to repent of too much confidence in success. The light-armed cohorts had orders to invest the woods. Where the thickets were too close for the horse to enter, the men dismounted to explore the passes, and where the woods gave an opening, the rest of the cavalry rushed in, and scoured the country. The Britons, seeing that the pursuit was conducted in compact and regular order, dispersed a second time, not in collected bodies, but in consternation, flying in different ways to remote lurking places, solicitous only for their personal safety, and no longer willing to wait for their fellow-soldiers. Night coming on, the Romans, weary of slaughter, desisted from the pursuit. Ten thousand of the Caledonians fell in this engagement: on the part of the Romans, the number of slain did not exceed three hundred and forty, among whom was Aulus Atti-

cus (*b*), the prefect of a cohort. His own youthful ardour, and the spirit of a high-mettled horse, carried him with too much impetuosity into the thickest of the enemy's ranks.

XXXVIII. The Roman army, elated with success, and enriched with plunder, passed the night in exultation. The Britons, on the other hand, wandered about, uncertain which way to turn, helpless and disconsolate. The mingled cries of men and women filled the air with lamentations. Some assisted to carry off the wounded; others called for the assistance of such as escaped unhurt; numbers abandoned their habitations, or, in their phrensy, set them on fire. They fled to obscure retreats, and, in the moment of choice, deserted them; they held consultations, and having inflamed their hopes, changed their minds in despair; they beheld the pledges of tender affection, and burst into tears; they viewed them again, and grew fierce with resentment. It is a fact well authenticated, that some laid violent hands upon their wives and children (*a*), determined with savage compassion to end their misery.

The following day displayed to view the nature and importance of the victory. A deep and melancholy silence all around; the hills deserted; houses at a distance involved in smoke and fire, and not a mortal discovered by the scouts; the whole a vast and dreary solitude. Agricola was at length informed by those who were sent out to explore the country, that no trace of the enemy was any where to be seen, and no attempt made in any quarter to muster their forces. Upon this intelligence, as the summer was far advanced, and to continue the war, or extend its operations in that season of the year, was impracticable, he resolved to close the campaign, and march his army into the country of the Horestians (*b*). That people submitted to the conqueror, and delivered hostages for their fidelity. Orders were now issued to the commander of the fleet to make a coasting voyage round the island (*c*). For this expedition a sufficient equipment was made, and the terror of the Roman name had already gone before them. Agricola, in the mean time, led his army into winter-quarters, proceeding at the head of the cavalry and infantry by slow marches with intent that, by seeming to

linger in the enemy's country, he might impress with terror a people who had but lately submitted to his arms. The fleet, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at the Trutulensian harbour (*d*), and, sailing thence along the eastern coast, returned with glory to its former station.

XXXIX. The account of these transactions, sent to Rome by Agricola, was plain and simple, without any decoration of language to heighten the narrative. Domitian received it in the true spirit of his character, with a smile on his countenance, and malignity at his heart. The mock-parade of his own German triumph (*a*), in which the slaves, whom he had purchased, walked with dishevelled hair, in the dress and manner of captives taken in war, came fresh into his mind. He felt the reproach and ridicule which that frolic occasioned, and the transition was painful to a real victory, attended with a total overthrow of the enemy, and the applause of all ranks of men. He now began to fear that the name of a private citizen might overshadow the imperial title. That reflection planted thorns in his breast. The elo-

quence of the forum was in vain suppressed; in vain the talents of men and every liberal art were put under an absolute prohibition, if a subject was to rob the prince of all military glory. Superior excellence in every other kind might be endured; but renown in arms belonged to the emperor, as a branch of his prerogative.

By these and such like reflections that restless spirit was distracted. He retired to brood in private over his discontent. His solitude was known to be dangerous. To be alone and innocent was no part of his character. Weary of his retreat (*b*) and his own wounded spirit, he at last resolved to nourish resentment in sullen silence, till the tide of popularity, which attended the general, should ebb away, and the affection of the army had time to cool. Agricola was still in Britain, and had the command of the army and the province.

XL. DOMITIAN, in the mean time, caused a decree to pass the senate, by which triumphal ornaments (*a*), the honour of a statue crowned with laurel, and all other marks of distinction, usually substituted in the place of

a real triumph, were granted to Agricola. The language of compliment was freely lavished on this occasion. The emperor had also the art to circulate a report, that the province of Syria, at that time vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, an officer of consular rank, was intended for Agricola, in order to do him honour by an appointment always given to men of the highest eminence. It is added as a fact, at that time currently believed, that a commission was actually made out, and sent by a favourite freedman, who was much in the emperor's confidence, to be delivered to Agricola, in case the messenger found him still possessed of his authority in Britain. But the freedman, we are told, met him on his passage in the narrow straits (*b*), and without so much as an interview returned to Rome. For the truth of this anecdote I do not pretend to vouch; it was imagined perhaps as a stroke of character, that marked the genius of Domitian. However that may be, Agricola resigned the command, and delivered to his successor (*c*) a quiet and well-ordered government.

Lest his arrival at Rome should draw together too great a concourse, he concealed his

approach from his friends, and entered the city privately in the dead of night. With the same secrecy, and in the night also, he went, as commanded, to present himself to the emperor. Domitian received him with a cold salute, and, without uttering a word, left the conqueror of Britain, to mix with the servile creatures of the court.

The fame of a great military character is always sure to give umbrage to the lazy and inactive. But to soften prejudices, Agricola resolved to shade the lustre of his name in the mild retreat of humble virtues. With this view, he resigned himself to the calm enjoyments of a domestic life. Plain in his apparel (*d*), easy of access, and never attended by more than one or two friends, he was remarkable for nothing but the simplicity of his appearance; insomuch that they, who knew no criterion of merit but external show and grandeur, as often as they saw Agricola, were still to seek for the great and illustrious character. His modesty was art, which a few only could understand.

XLI. After his recall from Britain, he

was frequently accused before Domitian, and as often acquitted, unheard, and without his knowledge. The ground of those clandestine proceedings was neither a crime against the state, nor even an injury done to any individual. His danger rose from a different source; from the heart of a prince, who felt an inward antipathy to every virtue; from the real glory of the man, and from the praises bestowed upon him by those worst of enemies, the dealers in panegyric (*a*).

The fact was, in the distress of public affairs, which soon after followed, the name of Agricola could not be suffered to remain in obscurity. By the rashness or inactivity of the commanders in chief, the armies of the empire were lost (*b*) in Mæsia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia. Every day brought an account of some new misfortune; forts besieged and taken; garrisons stormed, and whole cohorts with their commanding officers made prisoners of war. Amidst these disasters the struggle was not to secure the banks of a river (*c*), nor to defend the frontier: the very possession of the provinces, and the winter-quarters of the legions, were fiercely disputed.

In times like those, when calamity followed calamity, and every successive year was marked by the defeat and slaughter of armies, the voice of the people called aloud for Agricola to be employed in the public service. The vigour of his conduct, his firmness in danger, and his known experience, were the general topics, in opposition to the cowardice and insufficiency of other commanders. By remonstrances of the same tendency, it is certain, that the ears of Domitian were often wounded. Amongst his freedmen, those who had the interest of their master at heart, made a fair representation, while others urged the same arguments, not with honest motives, but with an insidious design to exasperate the mind of a tyrant fatally bent on mischief. In this manner Agricola, by his own talents, and the treacherous arts of pernicious men, was every day in danger of rising to the precipice of glory.

XLII. The year was now at hand, in which Agricola was to have by lot the proconsulship (*a*) of Asia or of Africa; but the death of Civica (*b*), who had been lately murdered in his government, gave at once a warning to Agricola, and a precedent to Domitian.

At this point of time, the spies of the court thought proper to pay their visits to Agricola. The design of those pretended friends was to discover, whether the government of a province would be acceptable. They contented themselves, in their first approaches, with suggesting to him the value of tranquillity in a private station, and then obligingly undertook, by their interest at court, to obtain permission for him to decline the office. At length the mask fell off: by adding menaces to their insidious advice, they gained their point, and hurried him away to the presence of the emperor. Domitian knew the part he had to act; with a concerted countenance, and an air of distant pride, he heard Agricola's apology, and complied with his request, conscious of his own treachery, yet receiving thanks for it without a blush (*c*). The proconsular salary (*d*), which had been usually granted, in like cases, was withheld upon this occasion; perhaps, in resentment because it was not solicited, or the better reason might be, that the prince might not seem to gain by compromise, what he had a right to command.

To hate whom we have injured (*e*) is a

propensity of the human mind: in Domitian it was a rooted principle. Prone by nature to sudden acts of rage, if at any time he had the policy to disguise his anger, it was only smothered (*f*), to break out with fiercer rage. And yet that implacable temper was disarmed by the moderation and wisdom of Agricola, who was not in that class of patriots who conceive that by a contumacious spirit they show their zeal for liberty, and think they gain immortal glory, when by rashness they have provoked their fate. By his example the man of heroic fortitude may be informed, that even in the worst of times, and under the most despotic prince, it is possible to be great and good with moderation. He may further learn, that a well managed submission, supported by talents and industry, may rise as high in the public esteem, as many of those who have courted danger, and, without any real advantage to their country, died the victims of pride and vain ambition.

XLIII. The death of Agricola was felt by his family with the deepest sorrow, by his friends with tender concern, and even by foreigners (*a*), and such as had no knowledge

of his person, with universal regret. During his illness, the common people, and that class of men who care little about public events, were constantly at his door, with anxiety making their enquiries. In the forum, and all circular meetings, he was the subject of conversation. When he breathed his last, no man was so hardened as to rejoice at the news. He died lamented, and not soon forgotten. What added to the public affliction, was a report (*b*) that so valuable a life was ended by a dose of poison. No proof of the fact appearing, I leave the story to shift for itself. Thus much is certain; during his illness, instead of formal messages, according to the usual practice of courts, the freedmen most in favour, and the principal physicians of the emperor, were assiduous in their visits. Was this the solicitude of friendship, or were these men the spies of state?

On the day that closed his life, while he was yet in the agony of death, the quickest intelligence of every symptom was conveyed to Domitian by messengers in waiting for the purpose. That so much industry was exerted to hasten news, which the emperor did not

wish to hear, no man believed. As soon as the event was known, Domitian put on an air of sorrow, and even affected to be touched with real regret. The object of his hatred was now no more, and joy was a passion which he could more easily disguise than the fears that distracted him. The will of the deceased gave him entire satisfaction; he was named joint heir with Agricola's excellent wife, and his most dutiful daughter, and this the tyrant considered as a voluntary mark of the testator's love and esteem. A mind like his, debauched and blinded by continued flattery, could not perceive, that by a good father none but an evil prince is ever called to a share in the succession.

XLIV. Agricola was born on the ides of June, in the third consulship of Caligula; he died on the tenth before the calends of September, during the consulship of Collega and Priscus, in the fifty-sixth year of his age (*a*). As to his person, about which in future times there may be some curiosity, he was of that make and stature, which may be said to be graceful, not majestic. His countenance had not that commanding air which

strikes with awe: a sweetness of expression was the prevailing character. You would have been easily convinced that he was a good man, and you would have been willing to believe him a great one.

Though he was snatched away in the vigour of life, yet if we consider the space his glory filled in the eyes of mankind, he may be said to have died full of years. Possessing all the best enjoyments, that spring from virtue, and from virtue only; adorned with every dignity, which either the consular rank or triumphal honours could bestow; what further advantage could he derive from fortune? Immoderate riches he never desired, content with an honourable independence. His wife and daughter left in a state of security, his honours blooming round him, his fame unblemished, his relations flourishing, and every tie of friendship preserved to the last, he may be considered as supremely happy, that he did not live to see the tempestuous times that soon after followed. It is indeed true, that to have reached the present auspicious era, and to have seen Trajan (*b*) in possession of the imperial dignity, would have been the happy consumma-

tion of his wishes. To that effect we have often heard him, with a kind of prophetic spirit, express his sentiments; but to counterbalance his untimely end, it is at least some consolation, that he escaped that black and horrible period, in which Domitian no longer broke out in sudden fits and starts of cruelty, but, throwing off all restraint, proceeded in one continued course of unrelenting fury, as if determined to crush the commonwealth at a blow (*c*).

XLV. AGRICOLA did not live to see the senate-house (*a*) invested by an armed force; the members of that august assembly surrounded by the prætorian bands; men of consular rank destroyed in one promiscuous carnage, and a number of illustrious women condemned to exile, or obliged to fly their country. Carus Metius, that detested informer, had as yet gained but a single victory (*b*). The sanguinary voice of Messalinus was heard in the Albanian citadel only (*c*); and even Massa Bebius (*d*) was at that time labouring under a prosecution. In a short time after, with our own hands (*e*) we dragged Helvidius to a dungeon; our eyes beheld the distress and

melancholy separation of Mauricus and Rusticus (*f*); we were stained with the innocent blood of Senecio (*g*). Even Nero had the grace to turn away his eyes from the horrors of his reign. He commanded deeds of cruelty, but never was a spectator of the scene. Under Domitian, it was our wretched lot to behold the tyrant, and to be seen by him; while he kept a register of our sighs and groans. With that fiery visage (*h*), of a dye so red, that the blush of guilt could never colour his cheek, he marked the pale languid countenance of the unhappy victims, who shuddered at his frown.

With you, Agricola, we may now congratulate: you are blessed, not only because your life was a career of glory, but because you were released, when it was happiness to die. From those, who attended your last moments, it is well known, that you met your fate with calm serenity; willing, as far as it depended on the last act of your life, that the prince should appear to be innocent. To your daughter and myself you left a load of affliction. We have lost a parent, and, in our distress, it is now an addition to our heartfelt sorrows, that we had it not in our power to

watch the bed of sickness, to sooth the languor of declining nature, to gaze upon you with earnest affection, to see the expiring glance, and receive your last embrace. Your dying words would have been ever dear to us; your commands we should have treasured up, and graved them on our hearts. This sad comfort we have lost, and the wound, for that reason, pierces deeper. Divided from you by a long absence, we had lost you (*i*) four years before. Every tender office, we are well convinced, thou best of parents, was duly performed by a most affectionate wife; but fewer tears bedewed your cold remains, and, in the parting moment, your eyes looked up for other objects, but they looked in vain, and closed for ever.

XLVI. If in another world there is a pious mansion for the blessed (*a*); if, as the wisest men have thought, the soul is not extinguished with the body; may you enjoy a state of eternal felicity! From that station behold your disconsolate family; exalt our minds from fond regret and unavailing grief to the contemplation of your virtues. Those we must not lament; it were impiety to sully them with a

tear. To cherish their memory, to embalm them with our praises, and, if our frail condition will permit, to emulate your bright example (*b*), will be the truest mark of our respect, the best tribute your family can offer. Your wife will thus preserve the memory of the best of husbands, and thus your daughter will prove her filial piety. By dwelling constantly on your words and actions, they will have an illustrious character before their eyes, and, not content with the bare image of your mortal frame, they will have, what is more valuable, the form and features of your mind. I do not mean by this to censure the custom of preserving in brass or marble (*c*) the shape and stature of eminent men; but busts and statues, like their originals, are frail and perishable. The soul is formed of finer elements, and its inward form is not to be expressed by the hand of an artist with unconscious matter: our manners and our morals may in some degree trace the resemblance. All of Agricola, that gained our love, and raised our admiration, still subsists, and will ever subsist, preserved in the minds of men, the register of ages, and the records of fame. Others, who figured on the stage of life, and were the worthies of a for-

mer day, will sink, for want of a faithful historian (*d*), into the common lot of oblivion, inglorious and unremembered; whereas Agricola delineated with truth, and fairly consigned to posterity (*e*), will survive himself, and triumph over the injuries of time.

THE END.

NOTES

ON

THE MANNERS

OF THE

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THE time when the treatise on the German Manners was written, is fixed by Lipsius in the fourth consulship of Nerva, and the second of Trajan, A. U. C. 851, A. D. 98. A passage in section 37, where Tacitus mentions the second consulship of Trajan, clearly shows that the piece was composed in that year, or soon after. It is a draught of savage manners, delineated by a masterly hand; the more interesting, as the part of the world which it describes was the seminary of the modern European nations; the VAGINA GENTIUM, as historians have emphatically called it. The work is short, but, as Montesquieu

observes, it is the work of a man who abridged every thing, because he knew every thing. It is for this reason that the following notes have swelled to a size, which may, at first sight, appear unwieldy: but the subject merits attention; it calls for something more than mere cursory observation. If the present writer has collected with diligence; if the brevity of the author be explained; if his facts receive full confirmation from the following illustrations; the enquiry will not be thought to be mere ostentation or vain parade. A thorough knowledge of the transactions of barbarous ages will throw more light than is generally imagined on the laws of modern times. Wherever the barbarians, who issued from their northern hive, settled in new habitations, they carried with them their native genius, their original manners, and the first rudiments of the political system which has prevailed in different parts of Europe. They established monarchy and liberty; subordination and freedom; the prerogative of the prince and the rights of the subject; all united in so bold a combination, that the fabric in some places stands to this hour the wonder of mankind. The British constitution, says

Montesquieu, came out of the woods of Germany. What the state of this country was before the arrival of our Saxon ancestors, Tacitus has shown in the Life of Agricola. If we add to his account what has been transmitted to us concerning the Germans and Britons by Julius Cæsar, we shall see the origin of the Anglo-Saxon government, the great outline of that Gothic constitution, under which the people enjoy their rights and liberties at this hour. Montesquieu, speaking of his own country, declares it impossible to form an adequate notion of the French monarchy, and the changes of their government, without a previous enquiry into the manners, genius, and spirit, of the German nations. Much of what was incorporated with the institutions of those fierce invaders, has flowed down in the stream of time, and still mingles with our modern jurisprudence. It is true, that in the progress of society, arts and sciences have diffused new lights, and the civil union being, by consequence, better understood, milder laws, and more polished manners, have well-nigh effaced all traces of barbarism; but still it will not be unpleasant, nor indeed useless, to go back to those days of ignorance. We shall view the

waters at their fountain-head dark, foul, and muddy; but by following them downward, we shall see them working themselves clear, and purified, at length, to a clear and limpid current. We shall gain a knowledge of the origin of laws, while we read the history of the human mind. The subject, it is conceived, is interesting to every Briton. The following notes are, therefore, offered without further apology for their length. In the manners of the Germans the reader will see our present frame of government, as it were, in its cradle; *gentis cunabula nostræ!* The antiquarian, who has already made his researches, will, perhaps, find little novelty; but to those who have not had leisure or curiosity, the following annotations may open new veins of knowledge and reflection. They will lead to a better acquaintance with a fierce and warlike people, to whom this country owes that spirit of liberty, which through so many centuries has preserved our excellent form of government, and raised the glory of the British nation.

——————— Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.

Section I.

(*a*) It is material in this place to observe, that Augustus Cæsar divided part of Belgic Gaul into two provinces, distinguished by the names of Upper and Lower Germany. Many of the new settlers in those parts were originally Germans, and, when the whole country was reduced under subjection to the Roman empire, the people, unwilling to pass for natives of Gaul, still retained their original name. Those two provinces called the Upper and Lower Germany, being, in fact, part of Gaul, are not comprised in the account given by Tacitus. He speaks of ancient Germany, called Germania Antiqua, or Barbara; of Germany on the eastern side of the Rhine, Germania Transrhenana; bounded, on the west, by the Rhine; on the south, by the Danube; on the east, by the Vistula, or Weissel, and the mountains of Sarmatia; and finally, by the Northern Ocean, including the Baltic, and the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland.

(*b*) Gaul, according to Cæsar, was divided into three parts, namely, 1. Belgic Gaul, bounded by the Seine, the Marne, the moun-

tains of Vauge, the Rhine, and the Ocean. 2dly, Celtic Gaul, bounded by the Ocean, the Seine, the Marne, the Saone, the Rhone, and the Garonne. 3dly, Aquitania, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees.

Rhætia was bounded towards the east by the Alps; by Italy towards the south; by the Rhine on the west; and by the country of the Vindelici towards the north. It is now the country of the Grisons.

Pannonia was an extensive country, having Dalmatia on the south, Illyricum on the west, Mæsia on the east, and the Danube on the north. And thus, as Tacitus says, Germany is divided from Gaul by the Rhine, and from Rhætia and Pannonia by the Danube.

(*c*). Dacia, in a short time after Tacitus wrote this treatise, was reduced by the emperor Trajan to a Roman province. It lay on the other side of the Danube, extending northward to the Carpathian mountains, comprising part of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

Sarmatia was formerly divided into European and Asiatic. The European division is here intended by Tacitus. It had the Vistula, or Weissel, and a chain of mountains, for its western boundary, and extended to the northern parts of Europe, comprising Livonia, Lithuania, Russia, and Crim Tartary.

The mountains, which in part divided these nations from Germany, are now called the Carpathian mountains, running between Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania.

(*d*) The Baltic Sea was, probably, thought in the time of Tacitus to be the Northern Ocean. The deep gulfs were those of Bothnia and Finland. Sweden, Norway, and Finland, were anciently called Scandinavia, and supposed by the Romans to be a large island.

(*e*) Before the expeditions of Drusus and his son Germanicus, the Romans had not pierced far into Germany. Drusus, A. U. C. 744, advanced with his fleet as far as the promontory of the Cimbrians, who inhabited the country now called Jutland. Tacitus wrote his treatise about one hundred and eight years

soil. The world is now better informed. Asia is considered as the country where the numbers of mankind multiplied with rapid increase, and thence overflowing into Scythia, peopled the northern regions of Europe. Under which of the sons of Noah that vast migration was formed, it is now fruitless to enquire. Antiquarians have amused themselves with systems founded on vain opinions, and, having no historical records, they have wandered in a maze of wild conjecture, without contributing to the stock of real knowledge.

(*b*) In this passage a mistake seems to be justly imputed to Tacitus. The first migrations could not be made by sea in those early ages, when the use of shipping was little known. As soon as population increased in Asia, the redundant multitude went forth in quest of new settlements, and poured into Scythia, Sarmatia, Hungary, and Poland, and thence into Germany. When navigation began to be in some degree understood, colonies were transplanted by sea. It was by sea that Cecrops conveyed his people from Egypt into Greece, and it was in the same manner that the Phœnicians transported their colonies to the coast

of Africa. But migrations must have been made before those events, and the northern parts of Europe were peopled long before.

(*c*) In the time of Tacitus, a voyage from Italy to the Northern Ocean would have been an enterprise too wild and daring. Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was the first Roman commander who ventured to explore those seas. *Oceanum septentrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit*, says Suetonius, Life of Claudius, s. 1; but it is not pretended that he sailed from Italy. His voyage, without doubt, began from some port of Gaul or Germany, and reached the point of Jutland. His son Germanicus, many years after, made the same attempt, but with great difficulty and danger. See *Annals*, ii. s. 23.

(*d*) This is by no means a satisfactory reason for the position advanced by Tacitus, namely, that the Germans were the indigenous offspring of the soil. In those remote ages, when the numbers of one nation overflowed into another, the object was not the most delightful country, but the safest habitation. Asia, Italy, and some parts of Africa, afforded

delightful spots; but to men who could not find a settlement in those regions, even Germany, which appears so horrid to Tacitus, was not without its conveniences. The people escaped from oriental despotism, and lived in freedom. A freehold, says Addison, though it be but in ice and snow, will make the owner pleased with the possession, and stout in the defence of it. Germany was the land of liberty and heroic fortitude. What men lost of their sensual gratifications, they gained in virtue: as Brotier expresses it, *Si quid decessit voluptati, accrevit humanitati.*

(*e*) Songs and rude poetry have been in all savage countries the memorials of public transactions. Kings and heroes were the poets and historians of the Scythian, the Celtic, and the northern nations. Saxo Grammaticus and other writers inform us, that they drew their materials from Runic songs, or Icelandic poetry. The Gauls had their Druids, the priests and philosophers of the nation, who preserved their doctrine by oral tradition, and verses committed to memory only. The Germans had their BARDS, who in their songs recorded all public transactions, and

sung the praises of their warriors and illustrious men. At all feasts and public assemblies the bards were the panegyrists of exalted merit. The same was the case in Britain, Wales, and Ireland. The songs of the bards were the prelude to battle; they inspired the chiefs with enthusiastic ardour. When Edward I. formed the plan of reducing Wales to subjection, he thought it necessary to destroy all the bards. The Scandinavians had their poets, or SCALDS, whose business it was to compose odes or songs, in which they celebrated the warlike achievements of their ancestors. The praises which those poets gave to valour, the enthusiasm which animated their verses, and the care which the people took to learn them from their infancy, all conspired to rouse the martial spirit of their armies. *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 223. The American savages have their war-songs and rude poetry, in which they sing the praises of the gallant chiefs, who have fought or died for their country. Garcilasso de la Vega says, that, in writing his history of Peru, he availed himself of old songs and ballads, which a princess of the race of their *incas* taught him to get by heart in his infancy. Tacitus tells us,

that Arminius, long after his death, was remembered in the rude songs of his country. See Annals, ii. s. 88. Some of those songs, or brief chronicles of the times, were dug up in German monasteries in the beginning of the sixteenth century. CHARLEMAGNE, according to Eginhard, the historian of that warlike prince, composed verses in the rude style of that age, commemorating the wars and brave exploits of the German chiefs. He is said to have carried with him into France a large collection of those ancient ballads, which he ordered to be translated into Latin. But those records are now no where to be found.

(*f*) Various opinions have been advanced by antiquarians concerning the name of TUISTO. Some assert that it means the creator of the world; and that MANNUS, which is man with a Latin termination, relates to Adam. Others will have it, that TUISTO is the same as TEUTATES, a Scythian or Celtic king; and much learning has been laid out upon the subject. It is too often the fate of learned commentators to open a wide field for discussion, in which men of sober sense refuse to follow them. It is sufficient that Tuisto was the most ancient

deity of the Germans and Scandinavians, long before the worship of Odin was established. See Monsieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. chap. 6; and this Tract, s. 43, note (*f*).

(*g*) We have here, in three grand divisions, a general geographical description of Germany. The commentators inform us that they have found compound words in the German language, signifying, first, the inhabitants of the maritime parts; 2dly, inhabitants of the midland country; 3dly, inhabitants of the east; and those words correspond with the three appellations, which the Romans softened into their own idiom. There was anciently another division of Germany, perhaps more satisfactory: 1. Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe, *inter Rhenum et Albim;* 2. between the Elbe and the Weissel, *inter Albim et Vistulam;* 3. Southern Germany, *Germania Australis*, between the Rhine and the Danube; 4. Germany beyond the Weissel, *Germania Transvistulana;* 5. Germany beyond sea, and the islands of the Baltic, *Germania Transmarina et Insulæ.* Pliny the elder enumerates five German nations not materially different from the last description.

He says, *Germanorum genera quinque.* 1. *Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones.* 2. *Alterum genus Ingævones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes.* 3. *Proximi autem Rheno Istævones, quorum pars Cimbri Mediterranei.* 4. *Hermiones, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri. Catti, Cherusci.* 5. *Quinta pars, Peucini, Basternæ, Contermini Dacei.* Plin. lib. iv. s. 28, 14.

(*h*) The Gambrivians are mentioned by Tacitus in this place only.

(*i*) The Vandals are the same as the *Vindili* mentioned by Pliny; a brave and warlike race, who afterwards over-ran Gaul, Spain, and Italy, and were finally destroyed in Africa.

(*k*) Lipsius is of opinion that this passage will ever be the torment of the commentators. But the difficulty does not seem to be insurmountable. Tacitus says, that the first emigrants from the other side of the Rhine who entered Gaul, and dispossessed the natives, were in his time called Tungrians; but when they undertook their expedition, to strike their

enemies with terror, *ob metum*, they called themselves GERMANS. The word, of course, implied something formidable, and, by adverting to the etymology, it receives the following construction. *Gehr*, or *Wehr*, signifies war. From that root the French have derived their word *guerre*. *Man* in the German tongue implied the same as it does now in that country and in England. Hence we find, that the first invaders, *ob metum*, to spread a general alarm, called themselves Germans, or *warlike men*. That such migrations were made into Gaul is evident from Julius Cæsar. In the second book of his Gallic Wars, s. 4, he relates that, on enquiry, he found that the Belgians were for the most part Germans originally, who had been drawn by the fertility of the country to settle in those parts, and, during the irruption of the Teutones and Cimbri, were the only people, of all the provinces of Gaul, that resisted those fierce Barbarians, and never suffered them to set foot in their territories. The name of GERMANS, assumed by those who crossed over into Gaul, was in process of time adopted by all the nations on the east side of the Rhine, and in Cæsar's time was the established appellation of the whole

country. The region which the Tungrians inhabited, *Brotier* says, was what the French call *L'ancien Diocèse de Tongres*, and it is remarkable that the same territory was occupied by the Franks, when, under the conduct of Pharamond, they made their irruption into France, and from that time gave their name to the whole country.

(*l*) Besides the fabulous Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, there was, in ancient times, no warlike nation that did not boast of its own particular HERCULES. La Bletterie, the ingenious translator of a considerable part of Tacitus, mentions a learned antiquarian (Mons. Freret) who supposed, not without great probability, that some German chief of great renown in arms was called *Her-Koul, Belli Caput*, the head of a victorious army. *Her-koul* would easily be changed by the Romans into HERCULES. However that may be, we find in Tacitus an entire forest beyond the *Visurgis*, or the *Weser*, sacred to Hercules. See Annals, ii. s. 12. The warriors rushing to battle sung his praise, as we find that, in their ballads, they afterwards celebrated Arminius. See Annals, ii. s. 88. Several learn-

ed men have clearly proved that the word HERCULES was a name given to all the leaders of colonies, who came out of Asia to settle in Greece, Italy, and Spain. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91.

Section III.

(*a*) The commentators are much at variance about the reading of the original word to express the recitation of the German poets. Some of them contend for *barritus*, instead of *barditus;* for *barrire*, they say, signifies the cry or roar of an elephant. Horace uses the word *barrus* for an elephant, *Mulier nigris dignissima barris;* Epode 12. But Lipsius observes, that elephants were not known in Germany. This dispute about a word seems to be, as is usually the case, of little or no importance, since it is evident that the poets of Germany and Britain were called BARDS, and therefore *barditus* is, probably, the true reading. Lucan, book i. ver. 447, describes the office of the *bard*, and gives him that very name:

Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina BARDI.

The strains of verse which the bards poured forth in their fits of enthusiasm, inflamed the German and the British warriors with heroic fortitude. Perhaps nothing contributed more to make those nations stand at bay for such a length of time with the whole power of the Romans. The soldier said to the bard, "Come, "and see me fighting for my country; see me "bleed, if the fate of war will have it so; and "if I die, be sure to record my memory." This was the ambition of the northern nations. Lipsius observes, that it was the same with the first inhabitants of Spain, and for his purpose cites the following passage:

——————— ritu jam moris Iberi
Carmina pulsatâ fundentem barbara cetrâ.

The war-song of the Canadians and the northern savages of America, has been mentioned in the books of all travellers in that part of the world. Charlevoix has given a full account of this wild preparation for battle, and Dr. Robertson has quoted the very words of an Indian war-song: "I go to revenge the "death of my brothers; I shall kill, I shall "exterminate, I shall burn, my enemies; I "shall bring away slaves; I shall devour their

"heart, dry their flesh, and drink their blood;
"I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups
"of their sculls." The terms of a German war-song have not reached posterity. The collection by Charlemagne is totally lost. In those pieces we should, undoubtedly, have seen strong marks of ferocity; but the spirit of revenge that could eat the flesh of prisoners taken in battle, was unknown in Germany. The Scandinavians, when they were going to join battle, raised great shouts, clashed their arms together, invoked the name of ODIN, and sung hymns in his praise. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 237.

(*b*) Doctor Aikin has selected a passage from the life of Sir Ewen Cameron, which happily illustrates the ancient German opinion concerning the prophetic spirit of the war-song. At the battle of Killiecrankie, just before the fight began, Sir Ewen commanded such of the Camerons as were posted near him to make a great shout, which, being seconded by those who stood on the right and left, ran quickly through the whole army, and was returned by the enemy. But the noise of the muskets and cannon, with the echoing of the

hills, made the Highlanders fancy that their shouts were louder and brisker than those of the enemy; and Lochiel cried out: "Gentlemen, take courage, the day is ours: I am "the eldest commander in the army, and "have always observed something ominous "and fatal in such a dull, hollow, and feeble "noise as the enemy made in their shout; "which prognosticates, that they are all doomed to die by our hands this night; whereas "ours was brisk, lively, and strong, and shows "that we have vigour and courage." The event justified the prediction; the Highlanders obtained a complete victory.

(c) The love of fabulous history, which was the passion of ancient times, produced a new Hercules in every country, and made Ulysses wander in every sea. Tacitus mentions it as a romantic tale, but Strabo seems willing to countenance the fiction, and, for that purpose, gravely tells us that Ulysses founded a city, called Odyssey, in Spain. Lipsius observes, that Lisbon, in the time of Strabo, had the appellation of *Ulyssipo*, or *Olisipo*. He adds, that another learned antiquarian, from an altar-piece which was found

in Caledonia, with an inscription in Greek letters, inferred that Ulysses, in the course of his voyages, landed on the coast of Scotland. To explode these idle reveries Lipsius pleasantly says, at this rate, what should hinder us inhabitants of the Low Countries from asserting that Ulysses built the city of *Ulyssinga* in the province of Zeland, and that *Circe* founded that of *Circzea* or *Ziriczée?*

(*d*) Inscriptions on stone, marble, or brass, though cut in Greek characters, are a bad support of the systems advanced by theoretical writers. Tacitus has shown, *Annals*, xi. s. 14, that the use of alphabetical letters passed from the Phenicians into Greece, and from Greece into Italy and Gaul, particularly to Marseilles. Cæsar relates, b. i. s. 21, that a roll was found in the Helvetian camp WRITTEN IN GREEK CHARACTERS, and containing a list of all (including old men, women, and children) who had set out in the expedition against the Roman army. In book vi. s. 13, he expressly says that the Druids did not commit their statutes to writing, but in all other matters made use of Greek characters. Those characters passed from Gaul into Germany,

where Count Marsili and others have found several monuments with Greek inscriptions. The communication that subsisted between the Druids of Gaul and those of Britain, would easily convey the art of writing into this island.

Section IV.

(*a*) This wonderful similitude throughout the whole race has been remarked by various authors. Juvenal has mentioned their yellow hair, their blue eyes, and other circumstances that made the whole nation appear to be one family.

Cærula quis stupuit Germani lumina? flavam
Cæsariem, et madido torquentem cornua cirro?
Nempe quod hæc illis natura est omnibus una.
13th Sat. v. 164.

Sidonius Apollinaris says, that, being in Germany, and finding the men so very tall, he could not address verses of six feet to patrons who were seven feet high.

Spernit senipedem stylum Thalia,
Ex quo septipedes vidit patronos.

Section V.

(*a*) Noricum was bounded towards the north by the Danube, on the east by Panno-

nia, on the south by a range of the Alps, and on the west by the country of the Vindelici. It contained a great part of Austria and Bavaria.

(*b*) The Germans attended to nothing but the production of corn. Their country, like Canada, was covered over with immense tracts of forest, and, till the ground was cleared, and the cold, by consequence, abated of its rigour, cultivation could not be carried on with any kind of advantage.

(*c*) Notwithstanding what is here said, we find, *Annals*, xi. s. 20, that Curtius Rufus opened a silver-mine in the territory of the Mattiaci, now subject to the landgrave of Hesse; but it was soon exhausted.

(*d*) The Romans began to coin silver A. U. C. 485. Their gold coin began in the year 587. On all their money, Victory was seen in a triumphal car, driving sometimes two horses, and sometimes four. Hence their pieces were called *bigati*, or *quadrigati*. See Pliny, book xxxiii. s. 3. The coin was indented round the edges like a saw, *serra*,

and, for that reason, called *serrati*. Brotier says, he has seen several pieces of this old coin in the college-library of Lewis the Fourteenth. Pliny tells us, that the Romans soon began to debase their coin, and to mix an alloy of brass with their silver. The emperors still debased it more. The Germans in all their money dealings suspected fraud, and therefore preferred the coin of the republic, such as had a car with two or four horses, and the edge indented. The antiquarians have employed much learning on this subject; but the above short account (suggested by Brotier and La Bletterie) seems to be the true solution of the difficulty.

(*e*) It is remarkable that the Romans always exacted from the conquered nations a tribute of silver. Pliny the elder wonders at the fact, and adds that, when Hannibal was overthrown, and Carthage reduced to subjection, the Romans demanded an annual tribute of silver for the term of fifty years; but they made no mention of gold. See Pliny, book xxxiii. s. 13, and 15.

Section VI.

(*a*) Abundance of iron was to be found in the bowels of the earth; but to extract it, to soften it by fire, and render it pliant and malleable, required more skill and patience than consisted with the rough genius of a savage race. Accordingly swords and javelins were not much in use. A spear tipt with iron, in their language called, as Brotier informs us, *friem*, or *priem*, was their weapon in almost all the battles recorded by Tacitus. From the word *friem* the Roman writer easily made the term *framea*, more consonant to the idiom of the Latin language. It appears in the *Annals*, book ii. s. 14, that those instruments of war were of an enormous size, and unwieldy in close engagement. The number was not sufficient to arm more than the front line of their army. The rest carried short darts or clubs hardened by fire. In general, pointed stones were prefixed to their weapons, and many of these, Brotier says, have been discovered in German sepulchres. The *fram* of King Childeric was found in opening his monument.

(*b*) The only covering of a German was a short mantle. Their soldiers, for the most part, were naked. All, however, were curious in the embellishment of their shields, which we find, *Annals*, ii. s. 14, were not made of iron, but of ozier-twigs interwoven, or of thin boards decorated with gaudy colours. These shields were the delight of the German soldiers. They were, at first, the ensigns of valour, and afterwards of nobility. The warlike chief made it his study to adorn his shield with variegated colours and the figures of animals, to distinguish his own martial prowess; and what in the beginning was merely personal, became in time hereditary. Hence what we now call coats of arms peculiar to the descendants of particular families; and hence the origin of heraldry. The shield of a German was his only protection in the heat of an engagement. Breast-plates were worn by a few only. The head-piece was of two sorts; one made of metal, to which the Romans gave the name of *cassis;* the second of leather, called *galea:* It is true, that Plutarch, in the Life of Marius, giving an account of the irruption of the Cimbri, describes their helmets formed like the heads of ferocious animals, with high plumed

crests. He also mentions their iron breast-plates. But this warlike apparatus was most probably acquired during their march into Italy. Vegetius wonders by what fatality it happened, that the Romans, after having experienced the advantage of their armour during a space of twelve hundred years, from the foundation of Rome to the reign of Gratian, should at length abandon their ancient discipline, and, by laying aside their breast-plates and their helmets, put themselves on a level with the barbarians, who insulted them in every quarter. By this alteration they left themselves and the empire obnoxious to their enemies. See Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 11, s. 12.

(*c*) The Roman art of managing the war-horse is beautifully described by Virgil, 3 *Georg*. v. 182. The reader who desires to know the skill with which the Romans vaulted on their horses and leaped off again, will find it at large in Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 18.

(*d*) The German manner of intermixing the foot-soldiers with the cavalry is described by Julius Cæsar. Ariovistus, he says, had about six thousand horsemen, who chose a like number out of the foot, each his man, all

remarkable for strength and agility. These accompanied the cavalry in battle, and served as a rear-guard. If the action became dangerous, they advanced to the relief of the troops. If any horseman was wounded, and fell to the ground, they gathered round to defend him. If speed was required, either for hasty pursuit or sudden retreat, they were so nimble and alert by continual exercise, that, laying hold of the manes of the horses, they could keep pace with their swiftest motion. Cæsar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. 1. s. 48.

(*e*) Germany was divided into states or communities, each state into cantons, and each canton into hundreds, or a hundred families. So the Suevians were divided, according to Cæsar, book iv. s. 1. The Swiss at this day are divided into cantons. The division into hundreds was introduced into England by our Saxon ancestors. The hundreders in this country were a civil establishment; whereas in Germany they were a military institution, being so many select men, whose duty it was to mix with the cavalry in battle; and, therefore, in that country hundreder was a title of honour.

(*f*) The word wedge, importing a body of men drawn up in that form, is a known military term. The ranks are wide in the rear, but lessen by degrees, and sharpen to a point in front, the better to break through the lines of the enemy. The practice was universally in use among the Germans, and, accordingly, in the History of Tacitus, b. iv. s. 16, we find Civilis drawing up the Frisians, the Canine-fates, and his own countrymen the Batavians, in three different wedges. Whoever has a mind to read more on this subject, will find a dissertation in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to. edit. vol. xxv. p. 440.

(*g*) To bring off his slaughtered comrades, in order to bury their bodies, was a point of honour with the German warrior; and to leave his shield on the field of battle was the most flagitious crime. It continued to be so several years after the time Tacitus speaks of, since we find that a heavy fine was imposed by the Salic law on him who falsely accused another of that heinous offence. *Si quis ingenuus homo alio improperaverit, quod scutum suum jactasset, et in fuga lapsus fuisset, et non po-*

tuerit adprobare, D. C. dex culpabilis judicetur. See the Salic Laws, tit. xxxiii. cap. 5.

Section VII.

(*a*) The text in this place seems perfectly clear, though various writers, fond of a particular hypothesis, have endeavoured to perplex it. Some of those ingenious authors contend, that the kings in Germany were hereditary, and the general officers elective. But Tacitus says, *sumunt*, they take or choose, and he applies the word to kings as well as commanders in chief. Hence it may be fairly inferred, that in the election of kings they had regard to the nobility of an ancient race; but still they chose them. They chose, perhaps, out of certain families, and gave the preference to the issue of the deceased king: but it does not appear that they were bound by any law of inheritance. In Cæsar's account of the Germans there are some passages that seem to clash with Tacitus, or at least to create a difficulty. Germany, however, was new to Cæsar: he did not penetrate far into the country; and though a mind like his would take a wide survey of his subject, it cannot be supposed that,

with all his accuracy, he gained complete information. He tells us, the Germans make choice of a chief to conduct their wars, and arm him with power of life and death: but in time of peace there is no public magistrate, all decisions being made by the leading men in their several districts. *Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit, aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello præsint, et vitæ necisque habeant potestatem, diliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt, controversiasque minuunt.* Book vi. s. 22. This may seem to imply that there was no king to rule over them. But this could not be Cæsar's meaning: he was well acquainted with Ariovistus, the German king, who made an irruption into Gaul. We shall see in the sequel of this tract, that, in some places towards the north, the kings were arbitrary; in others their authority was limited. If they happened to be distinguished by their exploits in war, the nation was willing to take the field under their auspices; if not, they chose a commander famous for his martial spirit. We read in Tacitus (*History* iv. s. 15.) the manner of choosing a general: he was placed on

a shield, and carried on the shoulders of the men, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the army. Gregory de Tours informs us, that kings among the Franks were chosen in the same manner. His words are, *Plaudentes tam parmis quam vocibus* CLODOVECHUM *clypeo evectum super se regem constituunt.* Lib. iii s. 40. The celebrated Abbé Vertot, in his Parallel between the Manners of the Germans and the Franks, who founded the French monarchy, finds in the election of a chief to preside in war, the origin of the *maires du palais*, who, at one time, had so much weight and power throughout France. The Franks, he says, after the example of their German ancestors, reserved the right of choosing their general, and the king was bound to confirm his authority. Occasionally they chose their king to lead them to the field of battle. Clovis is a proof of this fact. He united in himself the royal prerogative, and the authority of commander in chief. Under Clotaire, the second king of the western part of France, the elective general, or *maire du palais*, was suppressed, but soon revived again under the following monarchs. In the reign of Clovis II. the people continued to choose their com-

manders in chief, and that extraordinary power was exercised in a manner wholly independent of the sovereign, and often dangerous to his title. See Vertot's Dissertation, *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to. edit. vol. ii. p. 627. It will not be improper to insert here the substance of Montesquieu's opinion on this subject:—A government, under which a nation, who had a king on the throne, elected an officer invested with all the powers of royalty, must be thought an extraordinary phenomenon in politics: but, upon enquiry, it will be found that the Franks, who established the French monarchy, derived their notions of government from an ancient source. They were descended from the Germans, who in the choice of a king were determined by his nobility, and in that of their leader by his valour. Here we behold the kings of the first race, and the mayors of the palace. No doubt but some of the princes, who with a martial spirit offered to conduct a warlike enterprise, were accepted by the voice of the people, and, being thus confirmed, they exercised both the royal and military power. But those two branches of authority were often separated. In order thoroughly to understand the genius of the

Franks, we need only to recollect the conduct of Arbogastes, a Frank by nation, to whom Valentinian committed the command of his army. He confined the prince in his own palace, and suffered no man to confer with him on the subject of affairs civil or military. *Spirit of Laws*, book xxxi. chap. 4. The savage tribes of America often afford a striking resemblance of German manners; and accordingly we read in Charlevoix, The army has often at its head the chief of the nation or town; but he must first have distinguished himself by some signal action of bravery; if not, he is obliged to serve as a subaltern. See his *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter xviii.

(*b*) Cæsar says, that Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a German nation, described his authority so limited, that, though he governed, the people in their turn gave laws to the prince. *Sua esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. s. 27. We read in Vertot, that the Franks, when they passed over the Rhine and settled in Gaul, carried with them the same ideas of

government. Their kings were invested with high authority, but were, at the same time, restrained by laws which they did not dare to violate. As a proof of this, he tells us that Clovis, having gained a victory over Syagrius, the Roman general, wanted to present to a bishop a sacred vase, which had been taken in the pillage of the town: but one of the Franks, a soldier of a fierce and independent spirit, struck the cup with his battle-axe, declaring with ferocity, that the plunder must be shared by lot, and the king himself had no better right. *Nihil hinc accipies, nisi quæ tibi sors vera largitur.* See Vertot's Dissertation, *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 627. See also Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 254. The same spirit of independence prevails among the North-American savages. See Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, letter xviii.

(*c*) The commander in chief had the power of adjudging, but the punishment was inflicted by the priests, who, according to Cæsar, book vi. s. 20, were not of the order of the Druids. It followed, by consequence, that

the general met with less ill-will, and the execution was beheld with reverential awe. La Bletterie observes, that in modern times the stroke of justice, committed always to the base and profligate, is well-nigh rendered odious. The ancient Germans seem to have been of opinion, that the life of man, whenever taken away, should be a sacrifice to the Deity. It is not probable that the ferocity of the people would tamely submit to the severity of human institutions.

(*d*) The figures of savage animals were deemed religious symbols; see Tacitus, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 12. It was also a custom to deposit the standards taken from the enemy in their sacred groves, *Annals*, b. i. s. 59. These they carried with them to their wars. In like manner the Canadians have symbolic figures of their gods, which they call their *Manitous*. They take care, when going to battle, to carry with them those objects of superstition, and would as soon forget their arms. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

(*e*) The Germans felt themselves inflamed with enthusiastic ardour, when their wives

and children surveyed the field of battle. Many instances of this occur in Tacitus. See *History*, b. iv. s. 18. In the engagement between Cæsar and Ariovistus, the Germans encompassed their whole army with a line of carriages, in order to take away all hopes of safety by flight; and their women, mounted upon those carriages, weeping and tearing their hair, conjured the soldiers, as they advanced to battle, not to suffer them to become slaves to the Romans. Cæsar, b. i. s. 51. The Britons, under the conduct of Boadicea, prepared for the decisive action in the same manner. *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 34. Galgacus, in his speech before the last battle for liberty, tells the Caledonians, that the advantage of having wives and children was on their side, whereas the Romans had no such pledges to excite their valour. *Life of Agricola*, s. 32. The manners of ancient chivalry seem to be derived from this German origin. The fair helped to disarm the knight returning from his adventures; they praised his valour, and dressed his wounds. See a dissertation on this subject, *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xx.

Section VIII.

(*a*) We have in Florus a lively description of the undaunted courage with which the German women opposed the enemy in the day of battle. After stating the victory obtained by Marius over the Cimbri, the historian says, that the conflict was not less fierce and obstinate with the wives of the vanquished. In their carts and waggons they formed a line of battle, and from their elevated situation, as from so many turrets, annoyed the Romans with their poles and lances. Their death was as glorious as their martial spirit. Finding that all was lost, they sent a deputation to Marius, desiring that they might be at liberty to enrol themselves in a religious order. Their request, in its nature impracticable, being refused, they strangled their children, and either destroyed themselves in one scene of mutual slaughter, or, with the sashes that bound up their hair, hung suspended by the neck on the boughs of trees, or the top of their waggons. Florus, book iii. ch. 3. See also Valerius Maximus, book vi. ch. 1. That the women were esteemed by the German nations as their dearest pledges, is confirmed by Sue-

tonius, who relates, that Augustus Cæsar demanded from the conquered tribes a new sort of hostages, namely, their women; because he found, by experience, that they did not much regard their male hostages. Sueton. *Life of Augustus*, s. 21.

(*b*) Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Virtues of the Female Sex, relates, that a dispute arose among the tribes of Celtic emigrants, before they passed over the Alps, so fierce and violent, that nothing but the decision of the sword could end the quarrel. The Celtic women on that occasion rushed between the two armies, and determined the question with such good sense, that the Celtic nations ever after made it their practice to call women to their consultations about peace and war. When Julius Cæsar enquired of the prisoners why Ariovistus declined an engagement, he found that it was the custom among the Germans for the women to decide by lots and divinations, whether it was proper to hazard a battle, and that they had declared against coming to action before the new moon. Cæsar, book i. s. 50. Strabo relates, that among the Cimbrian women, who followed their husbands in

the invasion of Italy, there were several who had the gift of prophecy, and marched barefooted in the midst of the lines, distinguished by their grey hairs and milk-white linen robes. Strabo, book vii. Tacitus in his History observes, that most of the German women were considered as prophetesses, and, in particular, that *Veleda* was worshipped as a goddess. *Hist.* book iv. s. 61, and 65. La Bletterie observes, that, till the final extinction of paganism, the same superstition prevailed in Gaul, and that a number of matrons, or druidical virgins, foretold, when the emperor Alexander was on the point of setting out on his expedition against Germany, that he would never return. We are further told by Pomponius Mela, that, in an island on the coast of Brittany, there was an ancient oracle where nine virgins attended as priestesses, and issued the responses. Besides their prescience of futurity, they had the power to imprison the winds, or by their incantations to raise storms and tempests. Pomp. Mela, book iii. c. 6. The influence of the Canadian women may be seen in Charlevoix. He says, to take up the hatchet, is to declare war; and nothing can be said against it, unless it be among the

Hurons and *Iroquois*, where the matrons command or prohibit a war, as seems good unto them. Charlevoix, letter xiii.

(c) Veleda was a prophetess of the Bructerian nation. She was the oracle of Civilis the Batavian, in his war with the Romans. Cerealis, when he had gained a decisive victory over that warlike chief, and had nothing so much at heart as a general peace, knew the importance of Veleda, and her influence on the German mind. We see him, for that reason, in the History of Tacitus, b. v. s. 24, endeavouring to draw her over to his interest. And yet with all her boasted knowledge she was blind to her own fate. We learn from Statius, that she was made a captive by Rutilius Gallicus, and obliged to humble herself before the emperor Vespasian. Hence Tacitus says, *vidimus Veledam*, *we saw Veleda*. Statius, after being, in his congratulatory style, lavish of his compliments to his friend Rutilius Gallicus, for his great success in Asia and Africa, touches at last on his victorious arms in Germany, and the captivity of Veleda.

Non vacat Arctoas acies, Rhenumque rebellem,
CAPTIVÆQUE PRECES VELEDÆ, et (quæ maxima nuper
Gloria) depositam Dacis pereuntibus urbem
Pandere. STATIUS, SYLV. lib. i. poem. iv. v. 89.

Section IX.

(*a*) This passage has afforded a large field of discussion, in which various writers have expatiated, as fancy, or the love of an hypothesis, happened to dictate. Cæsar tells us, that the Germans have no Druids to preside in religious affairs; nor do they trouble themselves about sacrifices. They acknowledge no gods but those that are objects of sight, and by whose power they are apparently benefited; the sun, the moon, fire. Of other gods they knew nothing, not even by report. *De Bell. Gall.* b. vii. s. 20. On the other hand, the same author informs us, that the Gauls worshipped Mercury as the inventor of all useful arts, and the tutelary patron of commerce; and also Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Book vi. s. 16. But if it be true, according to the same eminent writer, that the Gauls in ancient times exceeded the Germans in bravery, and often passed over the Rhine to wage war in that country, it cannot be supposed that the Germans never heard of other gods. Mars, we find, was worshipped by the Gauls; but as he was a Scythian god, as Virgil has it, *Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui præsidet arvis*, it is highly improbable that a people,

who were of Scythian origin, should not have heard of the God of War. It is to be regretted that Cæsar did not give us the Celtic names of the several deities worshipped in Gaul, and also the names in use among the Germans. Harsh as those terms might be, a Latin termination would have softened them into a milder sound. Thus we have *man* and *herth* changed by Tacitus into MANNUS and HERTHUM. Schedius, *de Diis Germanis* (an author, whose elaborate work has been lately put into the present writer's hands by his excellent and learned friend Dr. Charles Burney), expressly says, that TEUTATES was the Roman MERCURY, and HESUS, MARS. For his authority he cites Lactantius, book i. c. 21, who observes, that the Gauls propitiated those gods by human sacrifices. *Hesum et Teutaten humano cruore placabant.* Lucan speaks to the same purpose:

> Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
> TEUTATES, horrensque feris altaribus HESUS.
>
> LUCAN, lib. i. v. 440.

> And you, where HESUS' horrid altar stands,
> And dire TEUTATES human blood demands.
>
> ROWE'S LUCAN.

In some resemblance of the attributes ascrib-

ed to HESUS and TEUTATES, the Greeks and Romans saw Mars and Mercury, and thence inferred that their own modes of worship extended to barbarous nations. But the natural religion of rude illiterate ages owed its birth to the passions and superstitious fears of an ignorant multitude.

——— tantum terroribus addit
Quos timeant, non nosse Deos.

The zealous crowds in ignorance adore,
And still, the less they know, they fear the more.
ROWE'S LUCAN, book iii.

The idea of one God, the governing mind of the universe, was unknown to the pagan world. The most savage nations had a notion of an invisible power; but being left to their own uninstructed fancy, polytheism was the consequence. They analysed the Deity, decompounded his essence, personified his attributes, and made new gods for every thing that they wished or feared. All had a sense of a superior Being; but not being able to ascribe omnipotence to one God, they multiplied the number, and distributed the administration of the universe among various deities, assigning to each his separate province, his distinct at-

tributes, and peculiar character. The theology of Greece and Rome sprung out of the wants, the fears, and passions of a savage race, and, in process of time, those nations adorned and polished the rude invention of their ancestors. Their genius gave the graces of poetry to every fiction, and their mythology was rendered elegant. Other nations, who made no advances in science, formed their system of polytheism in the same manner, and, as was natural, deified the same attributes. And thus, as Hume observes in his *History of Natural Religion*, "The Greek and Roman travellers and conquerors, without much difficulty, found their own deities every where, and said, This is MERCURY, that VENUS; this is MARS, that NEPTUNE; by whatever title the strange gods might be denominated. The goddess HERTHA of our Saxon ancestors seems to be no other, according to Tacitus, than the MATER TELLUS of the Romans." According to this doctrine, we see in the tract on the *German Manners*, s. 43, that under the name of *Alcis* Tacitus found that the people worshipped CASTOR and POLLUX. In this sense the Roman historians are to be understood, when they tell us, that sa-

vage nations worshipped Mars, and Venus, and Minerva. Under barbarous appellations they worshipped invisible powers, to whom they gave distinct functions, as the Romans did in their own religious system. It is therefore to be wished that Cæsar had collected the names ascribed by the Germans to their gods. In that case the seeming variance between him and Tacitus would, most probably, vanish. But Cæsar was engaged in an important war with Arioviſtus, and he did not pierce far into Germany. See s. 43, note (*f*).

(*b*) Human victims were offered to Mercury (or Hesus) as the chief of the German gods, and, according to the text, certain animals were sacrificed to Mars and Hercules. There is, however, reason to think that Mercury was a principal deity, since we find, in a quarrel between the Cattians and Hermundurians, that both armies devoted the vanquished, their men, and horses, and whatever was taken, as a sacrifice to Mars and Mercury. *Annals*, b. xiii. s. 57. In the *History*, b. iv. s. 64, Mars is called the principal deity. The Germans were of Scythian origin, and, of course, retained much of the manners of their

ancestors. See Herodotus, book iv. The Celtic nations offered human victims to their gods, and, accordingly, Cæsar tells us, that the same horrible superstition prevailed among the Gauls. In threatening distempers or imminent dangers, they made no scruple to sacrifice human victims, and made use of the ministry of their druids for that purpose. They put the victims alive into a colossus of osier twigs, and all within expired in the flames. Convicts for theft, robbery, or other crimes, were thought most acceptable to the gods, and, when real criminals were not to be found, the innocent were made to suffer. Cæsar, book vi. s. 15. Pliny informs us, that men were sacrificed by the Romans as late as the year of Rome 657, when a decree was passed, in the consulship of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Crassus, forbidding the practice of human sacrifices. And thus, says Pliny, the world was obliged to the humanity of the Romans, who abolished the horrible ceremonies, in which it was pronounced to be a religious duty to sacrifice a man, and even wholesome to eat his flesh. And yet the same writer tells us, lib. 28, that the mischief was so far from being cured by the decree of the senate, that he saw a

Greek man and woman buried alive at Rome. Plutarch speaks of the same barbarity in his own time, inflicted on a native Gaul. La Bletterie relates from Vopiscus, that, in the year of the christian æra 270, Aurelian, to induce the senate to consult the Sibylline books, offered a number of prisoners, of whatever nation they should choose, to be sacrificed on that occasion. After that fact, he says, let man boast of his reason, and with presumption say, that he stood in no need of revelation.

(c) A Liburnian galley was the name given by the Romans to a ship built after the model which they borrowed from the Liburnians, a people of Dalmatia. The service performed by those galleys in the battle of Actium is well known. Horace addresses an ode to Mæcenas, when he was setting out with Augustus on that expedition:

> Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
> Amice, propugnacula.
>
> HORACE, book v. ode 1.

How ISIS came to be worshipped by the Suevians in the form of a ship, may be accounted for. That goddess was deemed the

inventress of navigation. The superstition and religious ceremonies of the Egyptians were diffused over Asia, Greece, and the rest of Europe. Brotier says, that inscriptions to Isis and Serapis have been frequently found in Germany. But whether a Liburnian galley ever arrived in the Baltic, and whether the Suevians heard of ISIS, the Egyptian goddess, may be made a question. The Germans thought, like the rest of the pagan world, that some preternatural power presided over every thing useful in human life. Imagination created a goddess of Navigation, and as the human form was never assigned to the German deities, they worshipped the tutelar saint of the sea-faring life under the symbol of a ship. This was sufficient foundation for saying that the Egyptian ISIS was adored in Germany. See two dissertations on this subject, *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. v. p. 63.

(*d*) It may be assumed as a fact, that the Germans, at the time when Tacitus wrote his Treatise, had no representation of their gods in the human shape. Statuaries and artists did not fix their residence in those regions. It is certain, however, that in process of time

images and statues abounded in Germany. The missioners, who went in the eighth and ninth centuries to propagate the christian religion in those parts, saw many images and statues of their gods. That mode of idolatry was, however, far from being established. The people persisted, for a long time, to observe the institutions of their ancestors, till the council of Francfort, by order of Charlemagne, decided, that images should be admitted into churches, to serve as books for the vulgar and ignorant. It is true that Tacitus, *Annals*, i. s. 51, mentions the temple of TANFAN; but it does not appear that any images or statues of the gods were there immured.

(*e*) Groves devoted to superstition were frequent in Germany and in Gaul. Mention is made, *Annals*, ii. s. 12, of a wood sacred to Hercules. The forest of BARDUHENNA occurs, *Annals*, iv. s. 73; and in the *History*, iv. s. 14, Tacitus describes a sacred grove. Claudian, in his Panegyric on Stilico, congratulates his hero, that by his means the Hercynian Forest, which, before that time, had been made a gloomy desert by superstition, was converted into a place for the sports and pleasures

of man, where he might pursue the chace, and hew the venerable oaks as his occasion required:

> Ut procul Hercyniæ pervasta silentia sylvæ
> Venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetustâ
> Religione truces, et robora, numinis instar
> Barbarici, nostræ feriant impune secures.
>
> CLAUDIAN, lib. i.

Lucan's description of a sacred grove near Marseilles, in the third book of the Pharsalia, is well known to the classic scholar. The rites of a barbarous worship, and the impression made on the mind by the gloom of a thick forest, are there displayed with a masterly hand; but, perhaps, Seneca has given the philosophical and true reason. He says, If you enter a dark wood, where high embowering trees exclude the light of the sun, the prodigious growth and lofty majesty of the wood, the solitude of the place, and the deep impenetrable gloom, all conspire to impress an awful stillness, and to fill the mind with ideas of the invisible power of a superior Being. *Si tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus, et solitam altitudinem egressis, frequens lucus, et conspectum cœli densitate ramorum submovens; illa procerita silvæ, et secretum loci, et admiratio um-*

bræ fidem tibi numinis facit. Seneca, epist. 41. The younger Pliny (epist. 12.) says more concisely, We adore the gloom of woods, and the silence that reigns around us. *Lucos, atque in iis silentia ipsa adoramus.* The same effect in a Gothic church is finely described in Congreve's Mourning Bride:

> No, all is hush'd, and still as death:—'tis dreadful!
> How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
> Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
> To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,
> By its own weight made steadfast and immovable,
> Looking tranquillity! It strikes an awe
> And terror on my aching sight.

Section X.

(*a*) The Scythians, according to Herodotus, book iv. had their divining twigs. The manner in which they were used is explained by Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. of Denmark*, book xiv. who says, that the Rugians, a people bordering on the Baltic Sea, threw into their bosoms three pieces of wood, partly white, and partly black; the former denoting success, and the latter adverse fortune. La Bletterie says, the law of the Frisians shows that the people, even after they were converted to christianity, still retained this form of divination. The

words of the law are, *Tali de virgâ præcisi, quos* TENOS *vocant; Teene* in German, or *Tan* in Anglo Saxon, signifying pieces of the young branch of a tree. See the explanation of TANFAN, *Annals*, b. i. s. 51, note (*a*).

(*b*) Cæsar says, b. i. s. 50, that, among the Gauls, the matrons of the family presided to decide by lots and divination. The case, undoubtedly, was the same in Germany.

(*c*) Instances of this superstition are recorded among the Persians. Darius was elected king by the neighing of a horse. Herodotus, b. iii. The same author, b. i. mentions a number of white horses, considered as sacred by Cyrus and his army. Justin relates the election of Darius in the following manner: The competitors for the regal diadem agreed that, on a stated day, the horses of the several candidates should be drawn out before the palace, and he, whose horse was first heard neighing, should be chosen king. The reason of this ceremony was the persuasion of the Persians, who believed the sun to be the only god, and that all horses were consecrated to him. Justin, b. i. s. 10. In the isle of Rugen a priest

took auspices from a white horse, as appears in Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History*, b. xiv.

(*d*) Montesquieu observes, that this was the origin of duelling, and also of the heroic madness of knight-errantry. It was considered by the superstition of the times as an appeal to heaven. In a fierce and warlike nation, like the Germans, whole families waged war on one another for every species of injury. To modify so savage a custom, the combat was fought under the eye of the magistrate, and, in that manner, private as well as public affairs were determined. The proof by battle was established, and with more eagerness, as it excluded perjury. Judicial combat was the mode of trial that afterwards prevailed all over Europe. Witnesses and *compurgators* were obliged to support their evidence by the decision of the sword. Ecclesiastics, women, minors, the aged and infirm, could not be expected to enter the list, and were therefore obliged to produce their champions. The custom in England was called *wager of battle*. The form of proceeding is stated on good authority by the late Judge Blackstone. That elegant writer had the merit of converting the thorny

study of the law into a branch of polite literature. In his hands, *feret et rubus asper amomum.* By him we are told, that the last trial by battle, that was joined in a civil suit, was in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, and was held in Tothill-fields, where Sir Henry Spelman was a witness of the ceremony. Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 338. In Rushworth's Collection, ann. 1631; 7th Car. I. there is a long account of the proceeding preparatory to a trial by battle in the court of chivalry; but his majesty, in the end, revoked his letters patent, not being willing to have the cause decided by duel. This remnant of German manners, though fallen into disuse, is not entirely abolished at this day. Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 341. See Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* vol. i. p. 59.

Section XI.

(*a*) Montesquieu is of opinion, that in this Treatise on the Manners of the Germans an attentive reader may trace the origin of the British constitution. That beautiful system, he says, was found in the forests of Germany. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xi. ch. 6. The Saxon WITENAGEMOT was, beyond all doubt, an in-

proved political institution, grafted on the rights exercised by the people in their own country. *Annals*, b. iv. s. 33, note (*a*). The author of the European Settlements in America says, "The Indians meet in a house, which they have in each of their towns for the purpose, upon every solemn occasion, to receive ambassadors, to deliver them an answer, to sing their traditionary war-songs, or to commemorate the dead. These councils are public. Here they propose all such matters as concern the state, which have already been digested in the secret councils, at which none but the head men assist." *European Settlements*, vol. i. p. 177.

(*b*) The power and influence of the moon on all human affairs has been a notion adopted by the credulity and superstition of every age and nation. Ariovistus, according to Julius Cæsar, book i. s. 50, was forbid to hazard a battle before the new moon. The commentator on the passage in Cæsar adds, that by a law of Lycurgus the Spartan army was not to take the field before the full moon; and Vespasian, to take advantage of religious prejudices, attacked the Jews on the sabbath-day.

See in the *Annals*, b. i. s. 28, a panic in the army, occasioned by an eclipse of the moon. The elder Pliny, b. ii. s. 99, sets forth the extravagant powers attributed to the same planet. In this enlightened age some traces of the same superstition still remain.

(*c*) The Gauls, we find in Cæsar, b. vi. s. 17. computed the time by nights, not by days. Vestiges of this custom still remain in Germany and in Britain. We say *se'nnight* and *fortnight*; last Monday *se'nnight*, this day *fortnight*. By the Salic law, *title* 49, the time allowed for appearing in court was computed by nights instead of days. Chambers, in his Dictionary, tells us, that in a council held in this island, ann. 824, a cause was heard after thirty nights: *finita contentione coram episcopo; post triginta noctes illud juramentum ad Westminster deductum est.*

(*d*) In the excellent translation of Monsieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, we see the same custom observed by the Danes. They still show the places where they chose their kings, their generals, and also deliberated on the most important affairs. There are

remaining three monuments of this custom, the one near Lunden in Scania, the other at Leyra or Lethra in Zealand, and the third near Viburg in Jutland. "These monuments, "whose rude bulk has preserved them from "the ravages of time, are vast unhewn stones, "twelve in number, set upright and placed in "the form of a circle. In the middle is a "stone much larger than the rest, on which "they made a seat for their king. The other "stones served as a barrier to keep off the po-"pulace. The principal chiefs mounted on "those stones, and with a loud voice delivered "their opinions; then the soldiers, who stood "in crowds about them, signified their ap-"probation or assent by clashing their shields "together in a kind of cadence, or by raising "certain shouts." Stonehenge is said to be a monument of the same custom. See Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson, p. 95. Brotier sees in those conventions the origin of the assemblies, called, under the Merovingian race of French kings, *Les Champs de Mars*, the Fields of March; under the Carlovingian, *Les Champs de Mai*, the Fields of May; and finally, *Les Etats Generaux*, the States General. In Tacitus, *Hist.* b. *iv.* s. 15, Civilis is applauded

by the clangor of arms; and Vercingetorix, after haranguing the soldiers, receives the approbation of the army, signified by striking their lances against their swords. Cæsar, b. vii. s. 21.

(e) From this it is evident that all the states of Germany were not governed by kings. The chief of the community implies a republican magistrate. The word *civitas* does not mean a city, but a state, a people, a body politic. In those states, where all important matters were discussed by the people in their collective body, no wonder that the man who possessed the powers of persuasion should be the leading demagogue. The oratory of the savage was unpolished, but it was animated by the emotions of the heart; and the heart is the source of forcible and commanding eloquence. Charlevoix seems never better pleased than when he talks of the pathos and energy of his American orators; and the author of the European Settlements in America says, "Their orators are employed in all the public councils, and there display those talents which distinguish them for eloquence and knowledge of public business; in

both of which some of them are admirable. The chief skill of the orators consists in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expressing their thoughts in a bold and figurative manner, much stronger than we could bear in this part of the world, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive. *European Settlements*, vol. i. p. 178.

Section XII.

(*a*) The Salic law imposed a pecuniary penalty on such as took down a convict still alive from the tree or gibbet on which he was suspended. Even the dead body was not to be cut down without permission from the judge. A fine was paid for this offence.

(*b*) The cowards here intended were, most probably, those who offered to attend a chief to the wars as his faithful followers, and afterwards deserted. Men of that description were accounted infamous. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 22. By a law of the Lombards, the freeman who was summoned to defend his country against a foreign invasion, and refused to carry arms in that pressing exigence, was adjudged guilty of a capital crime, and suffered as a traitor.

Among the Canadians, the man who attaches himself to a leader, and, having sung the war song, refuses to perform his engagement, is never safe from the indignation of his countrymen; at least, he is disgraced for ever. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

(c) The Germans distinguished the crimes which were prejudicial to the state, such as treason and desertion, from cowardice, which they ranked with those unnatural passions that ought never to be heard of in society. The enemy of his country was punished as a public example. Private vices, in themselves base and flagitious, were considered as disgraceful to the guilty, not as an extensive mischief, and therefore swept away from the notice and the memory of man. Ignominious offenders were suffocated in mud, and their bodies were concealed from sight, to be forgotten as soon as possible. This distinction of crimes and punishments continued so long, that, by a law of the Burgundians, the wife, who proved false to her husband, was in like manner put to death in the mud. *Si qua mulier, maritum suum, cui legitime juncta est, dimiserit, necetur in luto.* *Burgundian Laws*, tit. xxxiv.

This practice of the Germans calls to mind the punishment for parricide among the ancient Romans. The person convicted of that crime was hooded, as unworthy of the common light; sewed up alive in a sack, with an ape, a dog, and a cock; and, in that condition, thrown into the sea, or into the next lake or river. Cicero has described this mode of punishment. The parricide, he says, was sewed in a sack, that he, who murdered the author of his being, should no longer enjoy the elements, by which all things are formed. The law would not condemn him to be devoured by wild beasts, lest the nature of the animals should be rendered still more ferocious; nor was it deemed proper to throw him naked into the next river, lest, when wafted into the sea, his body should pollute the waves, that purified all things from infection. In this manner the criminal was suffered to live, as long as possible, without the open air; and he was left to die in such a way, that his bones never touched the earth. *Insui voluerunt in culeum vivos, atque ita in flumen dejici; ut qui eum necasset unde ipse natus esset, careret iis rebus omnibus, ex quibus omnia nata esse dicantur. Noluerunt feris corpus objicere, ne bestiis*

quoque, quæ tantum scelus attigissent, animadversibus uteremur; non sic nudos in flumen dejicere, ne, cum delati essent in mare, ipsum polluerent, quo cætera, quæ violata sunt, expiari putantur. Ita vivant, dum possunt, ut ducere animam de cælo non queant; ita moriantur, ut eorum ossa terra non tangat. See the whole passage, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino.*

(u) In the list of crimes, for which a fine or composition was allowed, homicide, adultery, theft, and other personal injuries, were included. See this Tract, s. 21. The laws, which the Germans established in their new settlements, when they quitted their forests, and over-ran all Europe, are the best commentary on Tacitus. They confirm him in every thing material. A race of barbarians, issuing from their woods and marshes, and bearing down all before them, would naturally bring with them their primitive ideas, and transfuse them into all the laws established in the conquered country. Whoever will be at the pains of examining their code of laws, will soon perceive, that in their various fines for offences committed, they attended altogether

to the quantity of the damage, the malice expressed or implied by the deed, and the rank of the person injured. Brotier, in his note on this passage, has given a variety of instances with his usual accuracy. The whole would draw this note into too great a length. A few examples will be sufficient. For stealing a sucking calf, a fine, besides the real value, and the expence of the suit, was imposed by the Salic law, *De Furtis Animalium*, tit. iii. For stealing a bull the fine was greater, and for the king's bull still more. For a dog of the chase, a considerable sum. Knives were of great value with a people unskilled in the mechanic arts. By the Salic law, he who stole a knife, was obliged to make restitution, and to pay a penalty. Horses were almost inestimable among the Saxons, and, accordingly, by their law, *De Furtis*, tit. iv. horse-stealing was made a capital crime; a circumstance the more singular, as a composition was allowed for homicide. By the Salic law, theft had its different shades of guilt; such as stealing from the outside of the house, from the inside, and if the offender entered by a counterfeit key, the penalty increased. If he broke in, and then fled and stole nothing, he was fined for the damage

done by the forcible entry. The bare attempt to commit a crime was in some instances punished. If a man intending to give a mortal wound, missed his blow, the Salic law fined him for the malice expressed. For fracturing a scull, the penalty was considerable, and still greater if the bone exfoliated, and the brain was laid open. By the Salic and Ripuarian laws, homicide had different degrees of guilt, and the composition varied accordingly. For killing a barbarian the fine was moderate; for killing a man, and concealing the body, the punishment was higher, and still increased, if the person slain was sunk in a well, or thrown into a pond. The ranks of men were also taken into consideration. If a freeman killed a freeman; if a Ripuarian killed a Frank, or a Burgundian, he paid the sums established by the law; but the value of a Roman was fixed at a lower rate. Many more examples might be added; but these short hints will serve to shew from what source the German emigrants derived their notion of crimes and punishments. The fine in Germany was a mulct of cattle, the only riches of the country; but in process of time, when the Roman empire was overturned, and the invaders became

acquainted with money, the fines were pecuniary. By the Ripuarian laws, instead of the penal sum, called the weregild, the composition might be made in cattle, at the option of the offender.

(e) The part allotted to the king by the Salic law was called the *fredum*, i. e. *pax*, a payment to the king as conservator of the public peace, by preventing private vengeance for the injury received. Montesquieu sees in this passage the origin of the *fiscal* revenue, or the king's *exchequer*. He observes further, that, when a man was killed by accident, or what is called chance-medley, no *fredum* was paid to the king, because for involuntary homicide no vengeance could be demanded by the friends of the deceased. If a man was killed by the fall of a piece of wood, no *fredum* was paid, but the piece of wood was forfeited, as was likewise the beast that occasioned the death of a man. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. c. 20. From these early institutions, all flowing from the German manners, the origin of DEODANDS, well known in our English law, may be clearly seen.

(f) The whole country of Germany was divided into different states. In some of these monarchy was established, and in others the republican form of government. The former submitted to kings; the latter had their chiefs. The case was the same with the American savages. An eminent writer says, Though some tribes are found in America, with a head, whom we call a king, his power is rather persuasive than coercive. The other forms, which may be considered as a sort of aristocracies, have no more power. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 176. In Germany, the leader of armies was elective. In each state or tribe the divisions were, 1st, the people; 2dly, the cantons, or shires, as they are called in Britain; thirdly, the VICI, or hundreds. Magistrates were chosen in general conventions of the people, to preside in the several cantons and hundreds. Cæsar, who seems to contradict this, knew that the commander in war had no authority in time of peace; and thence, perhaps, arose his mistake. Tacitus expressly says, that there were magistrates in the several cantons and hundreds; and his account of the matter seems to be confirmed by the law made by the descendants of

the German tribes, directing that, *according to ancient custom,* an assembly of the people should be convened before the chief, or COMES or his deputy, and that pleas should be held by the hundredor. *Conventus* SECUNDUM ANTIQUAM CONSUETUDINEM, *fiat in omni* CENTENA *coram* COMITE, *aut suo* MISSO, *et coram* CENTENARIO *placitum fiat. Leges Alamannorum,* tit. xxxvi. lex 1.

Section XIII.

(*a*) The custom of wearing swords on all occasions prevailed in every country where the Germans took possession. That the magistrates never went armed, is to be ascribed to the clergy, who, for many centuries, presided in the courts of justice. The Romans, it is well known, never wore their swords but in time of war, or upon a journey.

(*b*) This seems to be the origin of CHIVALRY, that famous institution, which spread over the greatest part of Europe in the eleventh century. It is related of Charlemagne, that he gave a sword with great pomp and solemnity to his son prince Lewis. La Bletterie says, that a ceremony, little different from that

now before us, is still subsisting in many parts of Germany. When a young page has passed the time of life for his employment, the prince whom he served gives a grand entertainment, and, in the presence of his courtiers, receives homage from his page, and then girds a sword on his side, and sometimes makes him a present of a horse. This is called *giving the right to carry arms.* Brotier observes, that the sons of kings often received a present of arms from a foreign state; and, in conformity to that custom, AUDOIN, after a signal victory, was desired by the Lombards to admit his son, who had signalized his valour in the field of battle, to dine at the same table with his father: but the conqueror made answer, that it could not be till the young prince received a sword from some foreign potentate. Warnefrid, *De Gestis Langobardorum*, lib. i. s. 23.

(c) When the young men of Rome attained the age of seventeen years, they changed their dress called the *prætexta*, for the *toga virilis*, the manly gown. On that occasion the youth was conducted by his friends into the Forum (or sometimes into the Capitol), where with much solemnity he changed his

habit, and the day was called *dies tirocinii*, or the day on which he was capable of being a *cadet* in the army. The young German was, in like manner, introduced to the public by his relations. He then received a shield and a spear, and this is properly compared to the manly gown of the Romans. The same ceremony was observed by the Scandinavians. At the age of fifteen their young men became their own masters, by receiving a sword, a buckler, and a lance, and this was performed in some public meeting. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 197.

(*d*) We have seen that the chiefs among the Gauls, and also the Canadians, had a train of young adventurers, who listed in their service. See *s.* 12, note (*b*). Fidelity, no less than martial bravery, was the pride and glory of the followers, who voluntarily entered into the army. The respect with which they were beheld by their countrymen, was such, that if any one of them was killed or wounded, the composition was three times more than the sum paid in the case of a common freeman.

(*e*) War was the ruling passion of all the

northern nations. Among such a people it cannot be matter of wonder, that the chief, who led them on to danger and heroic fortitude, should be idolized by the soldiers. In Gaul, the warrior had a train of clients and followers in proportion to his fame in arms: that was the only mark of grandeur known amongst them. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 14. It was the same among the Scandinavians, and we see in Charlevoix that the Americans followed their leaders with equal ardour.

Section XIV.

(*a*) When Chonodomarus, king of the Alamanni, was taken prisoner by the Romans, his military companions, to the number of two hundred, and three of the king's most intimate friends, thinking it a flagitious crime to live in safety after such an event, surrendered themselves to be loaded with fetters. Ammian. Marcellin. b. xvi. c. 13. There are instances of the same kind in Tacitus.

(*b*) It appears from Cæsar's account, that they had another way of exercising their courage, when their nation was in a state of profound peace. They deemed it highly honour-

able to lay waste the country all around their frontier, conceiving that, to exterminate their neighbours, and suffer none to settle near them, was a proof of valour. They had still another kind of employment: robbery had nothing infamous in it, when committed out of the territories of the state to which they belonged; they considered it as a practice of great use, tending to exercise their youth, and prevent sloth and idleness. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 22. The custom of carrying arms in the service of foreign states, during a long peace at home, was in vogue among the Scandinavians. "The more valiant among them, unable to lie inactive till their own country should offer them new occasions to enrich and signalize themselves, entered into the service of such other nations as were at war. This was a general custom among all the Teutonic and Celtic nations; and ancient history affords us a thousand examples of it." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 234.

(c) From the liberality of the chieftain in granting presents to his followers, Montesquieu deduces the origin of vassalage. Fiefs, or feudal allotments of land, did not subsist in

Germany. The chiefs or princes had nothing to bestow but arms, and horses; feasts, and plenty of provisions. This was the whole wealth of the German warrior in his own country; this was what he imparted freely to his followers. In process of time, when those fierce invaders took possession of large tracts in the conquered countries, the followers of the chiefs, no longer content with feasts, and presents of horses and arms, demanded allotments of lands, which, at first, were BENEFICIARY only, and afterwards for life. In time they became hereditary, with conditions of military service annexed to the grant. Hence the origin of the FEUDAL SYSTEM. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 3, and 4. See Dr. Robertson, *Charles V.* p. 260, 263. See Abbé Millot, *Elémens de l'Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 190. We find in Charlevoix, that the American chieftains were under the same obligation to bestow presents on the men who boiled the *war-kettle*, and *took up the hatchet*, in their service. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

Section XV.

(*a*) The literal meaning of the original is, *They do not pass much of their time in hunt-*

This practice of the Germans calls to mind the punishment for parricide among the ancient Romans. The person convicted of that crime was hooded, as unworthy of the common light; sewed up alive in a sack, with an ape, a dog, and a cock; and, in that condition, thrown into the sea, or into the next lake or river. Cicero has described this mode of punishment. The parricide, he says, was sewed in a sack, that he, who murdered the author of his being, should no longer enjoy the elements, by which all things are formed. The law would not condemn him to be devoured by wild beasts, lest the nature of the animals should be rendered still more ferocious; nor was it deemed proper to throw him naked into the next river, lest, when wafted into the sea, his body should pollute the waves, that purified all things from infection. In this manner the criminal was suffered to live, as long as possible, without the open air; and he was left to die in such a way, that his bones never touched the earth. *Insui voluerunt in culeum vivos, atque ita in flumen dejici; ut qui eum necasset unde ipse natus esset, careret iis rebus omnibus, ex quibus omnia nata esse dicantur. Noluerunt feris corpus objicere, ne bestiis*

quoque, quæ tantum scelus attigissent, immanioribus uteremur; non sic nudos in flumen ejicere, ne, cum delati essent in mare, ipsum pollutarent, quo cætera, quæ violata sunt, expiari putantur. Ita vivant, dum possunt, ut ducere animam de cælo non queant; ita moriantur, ut eorum ossa terra non tangat. See the whole passage, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino.*

(u) In the list of crimes, for which a fine or composition was allowed, homicide, adultery, theft, and other personal injuries, were included. See this Tract, s. 21. The laws, which the Germans established in their new settlements, when they quitted their forests, and over-ran all Europe, are the best commentary on Tacitus. They confirm him in every thing material. A race of barbarians, issuing from their woods and marshes, and bearing down all before them, would naturally bring with them their primitive ideas, and transfuse them into all the laws established in the conquered country. Whoever will be at the pains of examining their code of laws, will soon perceive, that in their various fines for offences committed, they attended altogether

enable him, however, to support his rank, the different states (*civitates*) sent him voluntary presents of corn and cattle. When migrations were afterwards spread over Europe, the soldiers, after every victory, claimed their share of the booty, and soon obtained a portion of lands, but those lands were for the benefit of the individual, and at first for a year only. When they were made estates for life, and afterwards hereditary, every tenant of a certain portion of land was bound to attend the king in his army for forty days every year. That personal attendance growing troublesome, the tenants compounded with the crown for a pecuniary satisfaction, which, in time, was levied by assessments under the name of *scutage*, *talliages*, or *subsidies*. But even these were not to be levied without the consent of the common council of the realm. King John was obliged so to declare in his *Magna Charta*. See Blackstone, vol. i. p. 309 and 310. The same law was in force on the continent. When William the Norman desired a supply from the barons of his country, in order to assert his claim to the crown of England, they told him that the *Normans* were not bound to serve in foreign wars, and no consideration

could induce them to raise a supply. See St. Amand, *Historical Essay on the Legislative Power*, p. 102. When the French monarchy became afterwards greatly enlarged, no aid or subsidy could be levied without the consent of the three estates in their general assembly. The first blow that was given to the liberties of France, was, as PHILIP DE COMINES observes, in the reign of Charles VII. when the nobles agreed that the king should levy money upon their tenants for the venal consideration of their having a share of the sum so collected. The historian adds, that the king gave a wound to his country, which would continue long to bleed; and he asks with honest indignation, is there a prince upon earth who has power to raise a single penny from his subjects, without the consent of those who are to pay it? The spirit of liberty has prevented the same grievance in this country, where, however great the public burthens, the rule has ever been, that no impost shall be exacted without the consent of parliament; and thus the idea of voluntary tributes, which came originally out of the woods of Germany, remains in force at this hour.

(*d*) These military presents were not peculiar to the Germans. The Romans had their civic crown, and other marks of distinction. Pliny the elder relates, that Siccius Dentatus, tribune of the people under the consulship of Sp. Tarpeius and Aul. Aterius, A. U. C. 400, not long after the expulsion of the Tarquins, was engaged in one hundred and twenty battles, and returned with five and forty wounds, all honourably received in front, and not one behind, and that for his valour he received eighteen lances, twenty-five rich accoutrements, three gold chains, and twenty-six civic or mural crowns. Pliny, b. vii. s. 28.

(*e*) This was a dangerous lesson, which has been followed in every age and country. Herodian says of the Germans in his time, that they were greedy of money, and always ready for gold to barter a peace with the Romans. Herod. lib. vi.

Section XVI.

(*a*) Ptolemy, who published his System of Geography under the Antonines, near half a century after Tacitus, reckons no less than

ninety cities in Germany; but those cities must be understood to be a number of huts like those of the American savages. Ammianus Marcellinus, an author more to be relied upon, who wrote the history of the Roman wars in Germany, does not mention a single city. He says, on the contrary, that the Germans beheld the Roman cities with an eye of contempt, and called them so many sepulchres encompassed with nets. *Oppida ut circumdatu retiis busta declinant.* Marcell. lib. xvi. c. 2. The idea of regular cities was not known in Germany till after the time of Charlemagne. See Cluverius, *Germania Antiqua*, lib. i.

(*b*) The vacant space of ground which encompassed the house, was that celebrated *Salic land* that descended to the male issue, and never to the female line. For more of this see sect. 20, and note (*f*).

(*c*) Lafitau, in his account of the American savages, says, that their dwellings are the abode of poverty and the most wretched ignorance; and, if we except the natives of Peru and Mexico, who had the skill to build their cot-

tages with stone, all the various tribes are content with miserable huts, such as the Romans, in their descriptions of Africa, called *Mapalia* and *Tuguria*. In some parts, towards the south as well as the north, the people take shelter in subterraneous caverns, formed by the hand of nature, and sometimes constructed by themselves. The *Eskimaux*, who inhabit near Davis's Strait in California, and Nova Zembla, pass the whole winter in those deep recesses, without ever venturing into the open air. Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, vol. ii. p. 5. See Ellis's *Hudson's Bay*. Dr. Robertson tells us, that some of the American tribes were so extremely rude, and had advanced so little beyond the primeval simplicity of nature, that they had no houses at all. During the day, they take shelter from the scorching rays of the sun under thick trees; at night they form a shed with their branches and leaves. In the rainy season they retire into coves, formed by the hand of nature, or hollowed out by their own industry. *History of America*, 8vo edit. vol. ii. p. 173. See Kircher's *Mundus Subterraneus*, lib. viii. where there are many curious particulars concerning the Germans in their subterraneous

caverns. The same custom was observed among the Scythians. Pomponius Mela says, that, during the extreme severity of the winter, they dwell under ground in natural caves, or in dens formed by their own labour. Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, lib. ii. cap. 1. The mansions of the Germans were such as Ovid describes in the first rude ages of the world:

> ——— Domus antra fuerunt,
> Et densi frutices, et junctæ cortice virgæ.
>
> METAMORPH. lib. i.

Section XVII.

(*a*) This mantle, or *sagum*, is often called RHENO by Latin authors. The reason is given by Cæsar, who says, that the Germans are clothed in the skins of animals called RHENONES; but the mantle was so short, that it left the greatest part of the body naked. *Pellibus aut parvis Rhenonum tegumentis utuntur, magnâ corporis parte nudâ.* Cæsar, b. vi. s. 20. See a similar account of the Suevians, the most warlike of all the German nations, Cæsar, b. iv. s. 1; and see Pomponius Mela, b. iii. s. 3. Whoever would know more of the German dresses, will find a full account in PELLOUTIER, *Histoire des Celtes*, b. ii. s. 6.

(*b*) The most improved of the American tribes dwell in mean and simple huts, contrived merely for shelter. They are without windows, and have a large hole in the middle of the roof, to give a vent to the smoke. There the American, when war and the chase are over, hovers over the fire, and dozes away his time in torpid indolence. See Dr. Robertson, *Hist. of America*, b. iv. and Charlevoix, *passim*.

(*c*) Cluverius, the celebrated geographer, in his *Germania Antiqua*, describes the tight dresses of the Germans in such plain terms, as will not, in point of delicacy, admit of a translation. The loose attire of the Sarmatians was, however, adopted by some of the German settlers on the western side of the Rhine.

> Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,
> Vangiones, Batavique truces.
>
> LUCAN, lib. i. v. 430.

> Vangiones, like loose Sarmatians drest,
> Who with tough hides their brawny thighs invest.
>
> ROWE'S LUCAN.

(*d*) The people bordering on the Baltic,

and also on the Northern Ocean, called by Tacitus the Exterior Sea, were not only curious in their choice of furs, but studious to embellish them with shells and shining stones, and fragments of the scales of the various fish found in those seas. In like manner the Eskimaux savages of America, the Greenlanders, and all the rude inhabitants of the northern regions, are clad in furs stained with a variety of colours. This practice is still continued with regard to the ermine, which is spotted with black lamb's-skin. According to Cluverius, the women in Saxony, in Prussia, Livonia, and in general throughout Germany, wear shifts without sleeves, and leave the bosom bare.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) In this passage Tacitus seizes the opportunity to commend the noble simplicity of the German marriages, in order to pass a pointed censure on the nuptial ceremonies established at Rome, and the facility with which both sexes violated the marriage-vow. Montesquieu, in his compendious manner, has shown the progress of vice till it triumphed over the office of the censor, and established an

entire corruption of manners. The civil wars reduced the number of citizens; and of those that remained, few were married. Julius Cæsar and Augustus passed their laws against celibacy, called by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iii. s. 25; the Julian statutes, and by him declared to be a feeble remedy. See *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxiii. ch. 21. The lines of Horace stating the same complaint need not to be quoted. The indignation of Juvenal in his sixth satire is sufficiently known. The simplicity and virtue of the marriage-contract among the tribes of Germany are given by Tacitus as a striking contrast to the depravity of Roman manners. The instances in which a plurality of wives was indulged, occurred but seldom, and even then were founded on special reasons. Thus we read that Ariovistus had two wives: the first, of the Suevian nation; the second, the sister of a king, who courted the alliance of that German warrior. Cæsar, b. i. s. 53. Montesquieu assigns the same reason for the number of wives among the kings of the first race. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 24. For a proof of the fidelity of the German wives, see the passage from Florus, s. 8. of this tract, note (*a*). La Bletterie says, that among

the women who perished with their husbands on that occasion, the Romans found one hanging by the neck, and her two children fastened to her feet. Among the wild Canadians it appears that women were not in the same estimation as in Germany. The preliminary and the ceremony of marriage are extremely simple. The young man seats himself by the side of the girl in her own cabin; and if she suffers it without stirring from her place, she is held to be consenting to the marriage. The bridegroom gives her various presents; which are so many symbols and admonitions of the slavery to which she is going to be reduced: such as a collar and straps to carry burthens; a kettle and a faggot, importing that she is to dress the victuals, and make a provision of wood. The husband has his own peculiar functions; he makes a mattress for his wife, builds a cabin for her, and passes his time in hunting and fishing. The man who abandons his wife without good cause, must expect nothing but insults from her relations; and a woman who wantonly leaves her husband must pass her time still worse. In some places the husband has a right to cut off the

nose of the wife who elopes from him. See Charlevoix, letter xix.

(*b*) By a law of the Saxons, if a woman have male issue, she is to possess the portion she received in marriage during her life, and transmit it to her sons. *Leges Saxonum*, tit. vii. *De Dote.*

Section XIX.

(*a*) Seneca considers public spectacles as so many places of seduction. Nothing, he says, is so dangerous as loitering at such diversions, for when the heart is softened by pleasure, the passions stand ready for the admission of every vice. How is this to be understood? I return from those places more avaricious, more ambitious, more luxurious. *Nihil vero est tam damnosum bonis moribus, quam in aliquo spectaculo desidere. Tunc enim per voluptatem facilius vitia surrepunt. Quid me existimas dicere? Avarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior.* Senec. ep. vii.

(*b*) Maroboduus and Adgandestrius, two German kings, are supposed to have been able

to write, since their letters to Rome are mentioned, *Annals*, b. iii. s. 63, and 88; but their countrymen in general were rude and illiterate. Many centuries passed before reading and writing came into general use. In the middle ages, kings and warriors were not able to write; and it is well known that in this country a lord of parliament was, by law, entitled to his *clergy*, though he could not read. The art of writing is finely described in the following translation of a passage from Lucan:

> The noble art from Cadmus took its rise,
> Of painting words, and speaking to the eyes.
> He first in wondrous magic fetters bound
> The airy voice, and stopp'd the flying sound.
> The various figures, by his pencil wrought,
> Gave colour and a body to the thought.

But this art was almost wholly unknown in Germany, and, by consequence, love-letters were not in use.

(c) By a law of the Visigoths, if a woman was guilty of adultery, but not taken in the fact, it was competent to her husband to accuse her before the magistrate; and if the charge was supported by evidence, both the offenders were delivered over to the husband,

to be dealt with as he should think proper. If the husband killed both in the fact, it was justifiable. *Laws of the Visigoths*, tit. *De Adulteriis*, lex 3.

(*d*) The hair long and flowing was considered as an ornament, and therefore by the Salic law, tit. xxviii. to cut off the hair of an innocent person, was an injury severely punished. In some parts of what is now Westphalia, the women took upon them to execute justice on the adultress, following her with stripes from village to village, and with small knives inflicting wounds, till they left the offender breathless, or at the point of death. See an Epistle from St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, to Ethelbald, king of England, in Michael Alford's *Annales Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ*, tom. ii.

(*e*) Salvien, a priest of Marseilles, who wrote in the fifth century, has left a remarkable parallel between the manners of the Romans and the Germans, at the time when those fierce invaders were making their inroads in every quarter of Europe. The progress of vice was such, that a general corruption of

manners was diffused through the wide extent of the empire. Salvien says, that the Barbarians seemed destined not only to conquer, but to reform the vices of the age. Wherever the Goths and Vandals carried their victorious arms, no kind of licentiousness was seen, except among the old inhabitants. The Romans loved debauchery; the Barbarians detested it: the Romans considered adultery as an elegant fashion; the Barbarians thought it a crime. See Salvien, *De Gubernatione Dei*, lib. vii. Juvenal, who wrote in the time of Domitian, and is supposed to have died in the reign of Adrian, has shown the depravity of the age in which he lived; and yet those dissolute manners were tenderly called *the way of the world*. Seneca has observed, when enormous vices are grown so general as to be the manners of a people, no remedy can be expected. *Desinit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt.*

(*f*) The facility with which divorces were obtained at Rome, introduced an indefinite right of renouncing one marriage and embracing another, as often as caprice or a new passion dictated. The letter of the law was

observed, but the spirit was grossly counteracted. *Lusus erat sacræ connubia fallere tædæ*, says Martial; and the same author, in an excellent epigram, tells us that the Julian law against adultery was revived, and yet, in less than thirty days, Thelesina married her tenth husband; if that may be called a marriage, which in fact was no better than a legal adultery. To such an artful woman, says the poet, the more simple vice of a common prostitute is preferable.

Julia lex populis ex quo, Faustine, renata est,
Atque intrare domos jussa pudicitia est;
Aut minus, aut certè non plus tricesima lux est,
Et nubit decimo jam Thelesina viro.
Quæ nubit toties, non nubit, adultera lege est;
Offendor mœchâ simpliciore minus.

MARTIAL, lib. vi. epig. 7.

Chastity was in higher respect among the tribes of Germany. According to Valerius Maximus, the Cimbrian women who marched with the army into Italy, were all virgins, and assigned that reason to Marius, when they made it their request to be admitted into the vestal order. See this tract, s. 8, note (*a*), where it will be seen that those women strangled themselves, rather than expose their per-

sons to the passions of the Roman soldiers. Valerius Maximus adds, if the gods, on the day of battle, had inspired the men with equal fortitude, Marius would never have boasted of his Teutonic victory. Valerius Maximus, b. vi. ch. 1.

(*g*) In the Epistle from St. Boniface, already cited in this section, note (*d*), we are told, that among the *Vinedians*, a rude and barbarous people, the sanctity of marriage was observed with so much zeal and mutual affection, that the wife, on the death of her husband, dispatched herself, that her body might be burned on the same funeral pile with the man she loved. Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* lib. ii.) gives an account of the same conjugal fidelity among the Heruli. It is needless to mention the same practice among the widows of Malabar, and other parts of India.

(*h*) Great latitude was allowed by the Roman law to the paternal authority. The father, contrary to all the rights of nature, had an absolute jurisdiction over his children. He could condemn them to death. Such a power, nothing short of absolute dominion,

gave birth to a train of evils. Infants were abandoned, thrown into rivers, and exposed to wild beasts. See Minucius Felix, *in Octavio*, cap. 50. Laws were, undoubtedly, made to stem the torrent of licentiousness, but those were eluded by the arts of procuring abortion. Juvenal inveighs against that horrible practice with his usual spirit:

> Hæ tamen et partûs subeunt discrimen, et omnes
> Nutricis tolerant, fortunâ urgente, labores.
> Sed jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto;
> Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt,
> Quæ steriles facit, atque homines in ventre necandos
> Conducit. JUVENAL, sat. vi. v. 592.

> Yet these, though poor, the pain of childbed bear,
> And, without nurses, their own infants rear.
> You seldom hear of the rich mantle spread
> For the babe, born in the great lady's bed.
> Such is the pow'r of herbs; such arts they use
> To make them barren, or their fruit to lose.
> DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Such were the manners of an enlightened people, who were so prodigal of the name of Barbarians to all the nations round them! How much superior was the natural reason, the instinct, it may be said, of the German tribes, to the boasted philosophy of Greece and Rome! It is remarkable that Pliny the

elder apologizes for the unnatural practice of the Romans. The prolific vigour, he says, of some women, who would otherwise be overstocked with children, calls for this indulgence. *Quoniam aliquarum fœcunditas plena liberis venia indiget.* Lib. xxix. The Germans felt the power of parental fondness, and accordingly we see in the Salic law (tit. xxviii. *De Homicidiis Parvulorum)* that their descendants imposed various pecuniary fines for cruelty to infants; for killing a woman with child, or a woman not past child-bearing; with many other clauses, all tending to protect the rising generation. The Americans were not deficient in affection for their offspring; but it does not appear that they attended to the means of multiplying their numbers. Charlevoix relates an instance of filial affection blended with savage ferocity. An Iroquois, who had served in the French army against his own nation, met his father in an engagement, and in the act of going to give the mortal blow, discovered who he was. He stopped his arm, and said to his prostrate father, "The life which I received from you, this day "I give you. Let me not meet you again;

"for now I owe you nothing." Charlevoix, letter xxi. p. 89.

(i) Justin says of the Scythians, Justice is cultivated in that country, more through the disposition of the people, than by declaratory laws. *Justitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.* Justin, b. ii. ch. 3. The same writer adds, It is altogether astonishing that natural instinct should teach a savage race, what neither moral wisdom, nor the precepts of philosophy, could establish in Greece. Elegant manners yielded to uninstructed nature. Ignorance of vice did more among barbarians than all the boasted systems of a polished nation. *Prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longâ sapientium doctrinâ, præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his cognitio virtutis.* Justin, lib. ii. s. 2.

Section XX.

(a) Seneca, on the subject of training a youth in the way he is to follow, says, if he

was born in Germany, he would, even in his infancy, brandish his little javelin. In another work, he mentions the promptitude of the German mind; the love of arms, to which they are born and bred; their patience and firmness under every hardship; and their neglect of all covering for their bodies, while they have no retreat to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. Seneca, epist. xxxvi. and, *De Ira*, lib. i. s. 11. Charlevoix describes the American children wallowing in dirt, and reared in the same manner as the German infants, without the help of a nurse; a circumstance mentioned by Tacitus, for the sake of glancing obliquely at the fashion that prevailed with the Roman matrons, who committed their children to nurses and Greek servants. For more of this, see the *Dialogue concerning Oratory*, s. 29.

(*b*) The age of manhood seems to have commenced at the end of their twelfth year. Stout and well-grown boys were capable of bearing arms, in a country where the soldier was equipped with light armour. Hence King Theodoric says, It is absurd that the young men, who are fit for military service,

should be deemed incapable of conducting themselves. Valour fixes the age of manhood. He, who is able to pierce the foe, ought to combat every vice. See Cassiodorus, *Epist.* 1. Montesquieu observes, that Childebert II. was fifteen years old, when Gontram his uncle declared him to be of full age. "I "have put," he said, "this javelin in your "hands, to inform you, that I now resign the "kingdom to your care:" and then, turning to the assembly, "You see that Childebert is "a man; obey him." Montesquieu adds, that, by the Ripuarian laws, at the end of fifteen years the ability of bearing arms and the age of manhood went together. The youth had then acquired the strength of body that was requisite for his defence in combat. Amongst the Burgundians, who made use of the judiciary combat, the youth was of full age at fifteen. When the armour of the Franks was light, fifteen might be deemed the age of discretion. In succeeding times heavy armour came into use, and then the term of minority was enlarged. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxviii. ch. 26 and 27.

(c) Cæsar gives the same account. The

young men who are not acquainted with the union of the sexes, till the age of twenty, are highly applauded. *Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem : hoc ali staturam, ali vires, nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vigesimum fœminæ notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus. De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 20.

(*d*) Tacitus uses the words, *pares validæque miscentur*, that is, they are married equal and robust. Brotier understands the expression as applying to the equality of conditions, or a marriage among persons of equal rank; and he cites laws from the German code, annexing penalties to those of both sexes who marry persons of inferior rank. But the equality here intended by Tacitus seems from the context to be no other than maturity of years in the contracting parties. The distinctions of rank, which took place among the Franks in Gaul, were unknown to the German tribes in their own country.

(*e*) We find in Charlevoix, that, though it be true that there is no nation in the world where the female sex is more despised, it is

equally true that the children belong to the mother only, and the father is always held as a stranger to his offspring, while, at the same time, he is respected as the master of the cabin. Charlevoix, letter xix. In some parts of Asia and Africa, filiation was reckoned from the mother only, perhaps because in those countries the real father was equivocal. Among the Germans there was not the same room for jealousy. It is true, that the woman convicted of adultery was shorn of her locks, and driven out of the village; but still marriage was deemed a sacred institution, and conjugal fidelity was a female virtue throughout the nation. The women reared their infants at their breast, and trusted nothing to nurses or servants. The husband hunted, or lounged by the fireside in stupid apathy. He dwelt in one hut with his family; but he valued them no more than if they were all assembled by accident, and for his offspring he felt no solicitude. Filial affection was, by consequence, fixed on the mother. Add to this the respect, nothing short of veneration, which was paid to the sex by all the different tribes. These considerations may account for the affection of the maternal uncle for his sister's children. It was for

this reason, says Montesquieu, that the early French historians dwell so much on the affection of the kings of the Franks for their sisters, and the sisters' children. By the Salic law, the sister of the mother was preferred to the father's sister; and, when a woman became a widow, she fell under the guardianship of the female relations of her deceased husband. Moreover, when a man was guilty of homicide, the law allowed him to deliver up his whole substance, and his relations were to make good the deficiency. In that case, after the father, mother, and brother, the sister of the mother was to pay, as if that was the tenderest tie. We read in Gregory of Tours, b. viii. ch. 18 and 20, the rage of Gontram at Levigild's ill treatment of Ingunda, his niece: a war was carried on by Childebert her brother to revenge the injury done to his sister. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. The seeds of these several customs among the Franks are plainly seen in the German manners.

(*f*) Thus we see that, by custom (the unwritten law of the Germans), the females were excluded from the succession to the lands of their deceased father. What those lands were

is clearly explained by Montesquieu. While the Franks, he says, lived in their own country, their whole stock consisted of slaves, herds of cattle, horses, arms, and accoutrements. Lands for cultivation were assigned to them by the state for a year only, and after that time it was resumed by the public. What then were the lands to which the male issue succeeded? Every hut or cabin had a precinct of ground, and that was the estate that descended to the sons, or went in the male line. It was called SALIC land, because the mansion of a German was called SAL, and the space inclosing it SALBAC, the homestead. When the FRANKS issued from their own country, and gained possessions in Gaul, they still continued to give to their new settlements the name of SALIC land; and hence, the law of the FRANKS that regulated the course of descent, was called the SALIC LAW. Rapin has left us an elaborate dissertation on the subject. He takes notice of two different editions of the Salic law; but the last, it seems, is not correct. From the former, Rapin states six rules of succession to land property. 1. If a man dies without issue, his father or his mother shall inherit. 2. If he leaves neither father nor mother, his brother

or his sister shall succeed. 3. If there is no surviving brother or sister, the sister of his mother shall be entitled. 4. If the mother has left no sister, the sister of the father shall succeed. 5. If the father has left no sister, the next relation of the male line shall have the estate. 6. No part of the SALIC land shall pass to the females; but the whole inheritance descends to the male line, that is, the sons shall be entitled to the succession. Rapin has entered into a long discussion, but Montesquieu was master of his subject, and with the brevity of Tacitus has placed the whole in the clearest light. The rule among the Germans in their own country was, that the SALIC land should go to the sword, and not to the distaff. The daughters were excluded, because they passed by marriage into other families. The Salic law was founded on the customs and manners of Germany. If the father left children, the daughters were excluded, and the right of inheritance vested in the sons. The well-known law of the French monarchy, which excludes the female line from the succession to the crown, had its origin in the woods of Germany. It is true that, in process of time, the law of the Franks gave way to

the civil law; and women, though incapable of performing military duty, were allowed to succeed to fiefs, which, for that reason, were called improper fiefs. The SALIC LAW lost its force in France, except as to the succession to the crown, in which respect it has remained inflexible from the earliest period of the monarchy to the present time. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. See also Rapin's Dissertation.

(g) To be possessed of great wealth, by whatever means acquired, and to be at the same time old without issue, gave the highest credit and importance to a Roman citizen. He was surrounded by flatterers, who paid their court, and with emulation sent hand some presents, in hopes of being made testamentary heirs, or, at least, of obtaining a legacy. The advantages of this situation were such, that fathers often renounced their children, in order to enjoy the incense of adulation. Rome was divided into two classes; the rich, who amused their followers with expectations; and the legacy-hunters, who panted for sudden riches. Seneca has drawn, as it were in miniature, a striking picture of the avaricious

sycophant: he is a vulture, lying in wait for a carcase. *Vultur est, cadaver expectat.* Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, have made both ranks of men a subject of ridicule. See *Annals*, b. iii. s. 25.

Section XXI.

(*a*) In the rude state of society, before men had any notion of an umpire or magistrate to decide their differences, it was natural that every man should exercise a right to repel injuries from himself and his family. It was also natural that he should demand atonement from the wrong-doer. Resentment is an active principle in the frame of man. In the minds of savages it inflamed a spirit of revenge. Their relations, their friends, and their clan, joined in the quarrel. Whole tribes waged war against each other for the sake of an individual. Ties of consanguinity and the sentiments of social affection contributed to aggravate the mischief. Every rude uncivilized state was filled with intestine broils. It was the pride of a German (and the same may be seen among the savages of America) to expect redress from the vigour of his own arm. He thought it infamous, says Dr. Robertson, to

give up to another the right of determining what reparation he should accept, or with what vengeance he should rest satisfied. It is well known that in Britain when a man belonging to a particular tribe or clan committed a murder, vengeance was pursued not only against the offender and his family, but against the whole clan; and this spirit of revenge was distinguished by the name of *deadly feud*. During the short reign of King Edmund, a law was passed forbidding the deadly feud, except between the relations of the deceased and the murderer himself (See Hume's *Hist.* App. i.); so late was it before men could be taught to resign their natural rights for the sake of enjoying a surer protection under a regular government. And yet we see some rudiments of civil society among the ancient Germans. They began to form an idea of a public interest in the preservation of the peace. We have seen in this tract, s. xii. and in the notes (*d*) and (*e*), that a composition for offences was made by a mulct of cattle, and that the king or chiefs of the state received a fine for the violation of the public peace. The savage, who before that time depended on his own martial vigour, was willing to resign his re-

sentment to the direction of the magistrate, and to receive a stated compensation. The spirit of revenge was appeased, and the *deadly feud* of course gave way to the new jurisdiction.

(*b*) This compromise for manslaughter and other personal injuries had the happy effect of curbing the ferocity of a barbarous race; but still the principle of the composition was a satisfaction to the injured party. Avarice was called in to appease revenge. A debt was supposed to be due for the crime committed, and this appears to have been established in the remotest ages. Homer mentions a composition for murder:

> ——————If a brother bleed,
> On just atonement we remit the deed.
> A sire the slaughter of his son forgives;
> The price of blood discharg'd, the murd'rer lives.
>
> 9th Iliad, v. 743.

And again in the description of Achilles's shield:

> There in the forum swarm a numerous train,
> The subject of debate, a townsman slain:
> One pleads the fine discharg'd, which one denied,
> And bade the public and the laws decide.
>
> 18th Iliad, v. 577.

This mode of composition for crimes and in-

juries was adopted by the various communities in Germany; but their descendants, after the irruption into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, still claimed the right of waging private war for private injuries. Hostilities continued during a number of years, and the animosity of the contending parties laid a scene of blood. Charlemagne endeavoured by a positive law to abolish the mischief; but the genius of one man was not sufficient to eradicate a custom so firmly established. See Robertson, *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 54. Some of the prices settled by the Salic law for a variety of offences may be seen in this tract, s. 12, note (*d*). By the law of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, the price of the king's head, or his WEREGILD, was fixed at 30,000 *thrimsas*, a species of coin whose value is uncertain. The price of the prince's head was 15,000 *thrimsas;* the bishop's or alderman's, 8,000; the sheriff's 4,000; a thane's or clergyman's, 2,000; a ceorle's, 266. Hume's *History*, App. i. To complete this system, it remained to compel the delinquent to pay, and the person injured to accept, a proper satisfaction. This point being once established, men resigned their savage rights of revenge, and the civil magistrate was enabled to pro-

serve public order and tranquillity. And that, says Blackstone, by the Irish Brehon law, in case of murder, the BREHON, or judge, was used to compound between the murderer and the friends of the deceased, by causing the malefactor to give unto them, or the child or wife of him that was slain, a recompence, which they called an ERIACH. And in our Saxon laws (particularly those of King Athelstan) the several WEREGILDS for homicide are established in progressive order, from the death of the ceorle, or peasant, up to that of the king himself. In the laws of Henry I. we have an account of what other offences were then redeemable by WEREGILD, and what were not so. Blackstone, vol. iv. ch. 23. In process of time, when the civil union was better understood, and men saw that, by depositing their resentments in the hands of the state, their personal safety and their property could be better defended, crimes were no longer considered as mere personal injuries, but were punished as offences against the good order and peace of the community. Revenge and personal satisfaction for the wrong committed were no longer the objects in view. The public justice of the community was found to be

the best protection, and, in a regular but gradual progression, as succeeding generations became more polished and enlightened, that system of jurisprudence grew up, by which men find their lives, their liberty, and their property, sufficiently guarded. See an account of the proceedings of the American savages in cases of murder, differing but little from the customs of the Germans, *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 180 and 181.

(*c*) Tacitus is confirmed by Julius Cæsar, who says, the laws of hospitality are inviolable among the Germans. Their visitors are sure of a cordial reception. Their houses are open to every guest. Book vi. s. 22. Lafitau informs us, that the laws of hospitality are held sacred by the savages of America. The guest, on his first arrival, never tells who he his, or whence he came, nor does the master of the house make any enquiry. No time is lost in that exchange of compliments so much cultivated by polished nations. The stranger, as soon as he enters the cabin, has his repast laid before him, and he sits down to it without ceremony. His account of himself is always given

after his meal, and sometimes at the end of four, six, or ten days. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. ii. See an account of the European Settlements in America, vol. i. p. 171. Montesquieu observes, that hospitality flourishes most where the manners are rude and simple. The spirit of commerce may unite civilized nations, but individuals are not the more connected. Every thing in those countries has its price. The sentiments of the heart, the social affections, and the virtues of humanity, are exchanged and bartered in a course of traffic. Barbarians have little or no attention to their interest. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xx. ch. 2. The Burgundian law imposed a fine on every man who refused his roof and fire-side to the coming guest; but the Salic law provided, that no man should harbour an atrocious criminal.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Contrivances for bathing in warm water occur in the books of almost all travellers in North America. The inhabitants of the south have recourse to lakes and rivers. Lafitau informs us, that the people of Peru and Mexico, living under the intense heat of the

sun, as soon as they rise in the morning, betake themselves, men and women, to the seaside, where that advantage is near at hand, or to the nearest river, and there exercise themselves in the water for a considerable time. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. i. p. 265. The severity of the winter towards the north requires the use of hot stoves. The Russians are remarkable for the same custom. Their vapour-baths, to which men and women resort promiscuously, and, after exciting a violent perspiration, go forth without any covering to roll in the snow, are described at length by Abbé la Chappe, in his account of his *Journey through Siberia to Tobolski.*

(*b*) The manner in which the Romans placed themselves at table, differed from most other nations. Three couches, called triclinia, were ranged in order, but so as to leave the end of the table open for the approach of the servants. Three persons lay, in effeminate luxury, on each of the couches; sometimes four or five. Horace mentions four:

Sæpe tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos.

Cicero, in Pisonem, says, there was nothing

in his house neat or elegant. Five Greeks, and often more, lay crowded on one couch. *Nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans. Græci quini stipati in lectulis, sæpe plures.* Tacitus seems never to be better pleased, than when he has opportunity of passing an oblique censure on the manners of the Romans. Accordingly we find, that the Germans in a more manly way seated themselves each at his own table. That this was the primitive custom of remote ages, appears frequently in Homer; and Virgil, his great imitator, says,

> Hæ sacris sedes epulis; hic arjete cæso
> Perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis.
>
> Æneid. vii. v. 175.

> This was their temple, this their court of state;
> Here at their sacred feast the fathers sat.
>
> PITT'S VIRGIL.

(c) The same love of liquor, with all its consequential mischiefs, have been observed by all travellers among the savage tribes of America. Charlevoix says, the avarice of the French dealers introduced drunkenness among them, and that in the streets of Montreal, husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, were frequently seen in a state

of intoxication, worrying one another with their teeth, like so many enraged wolves. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter viii. See also the *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 169. To suppress the evil consequences of intoxication among the Franks, the SALIC LAW ordained, that if a man were killed at a convivial meeting, in company with five or seven, the survivors should convict one as the offender, or jointly pay the composition for his death. Tit. *De Homicidiis in Convivio factis.*

(*d*) Lipsius says, that, when he read Xenophon's account of the Persians (*Cyropædia*, lib. viii.), he was struck with the wonderful conformity of the eastern nations to the manners of the ancient Germans. See the Speech of Civilis in a sacred grove, when all were warm with liquor. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 14. Plutarch, in his *Symposiacs*, b. vii. qu. 9, observes, that it was the custom of the Greeks, as well as the Persians, to debate of state affairs at their convivial meetings. He refers to a passage in Homer, where Nestor advises Agamemnon to prepare a feast, and then hear the ablest counsellor. For this Plutarch gives

a reason: There is, he says, a wineless drunkenness excited by anger, malice, ambition, and other turbulent passions; but wine rather overcomes the bad affections, and stirs and agitates the generous emotions of the heart. Among the American savages, when any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole tribe partakes. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 178.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Pliny the elder observes, that the Egyptians had their intoxicating liquor distilled from grain, which their country produced in great abundance. But while the Earth thought that she was yielding large crops of corn, the wit of man, ever ingenious in new modes of vice, derived the art of making even water an intoxicating liquor. *Heu, mira vitiorum solertia! inventum est quemadmodum aqua quoque inebriaret.* *Nat. Hist.* lib. xiv. s. 29.

(*b*) What Tacitus calls *lac concretum*, coagulated milk, Cæsar calls by the name of cheese. *Major pars victus eorum lacte, et*

caseo, et carne consistit. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 21. Pliny the elder wonders, that a race of men, who lived so much on milk, had not the skill to make cheese. They converted it into a kind of whey and butter, and used it as an unguent. *Nat. Hist.* b. xi. s. 96. Sidonius Apollinaris, in a little poem on the Germans, tells us, that they made use of butter to oil their hair.

Infundunt acido comam butyro.

(*c*) The refinements of the culinary science were unknown to the Germans. Pomponius Mela says, that they fed on the raw flesh of animals, either recently killed, or after it was pounded in the hide by their feet and hands to some degree of softness. See Mela, b. iii. ch. 3. The Romans, on the contrary, studied the pleasures of the table, and luxury was in such vogue, that, as we are told by Pliny, the price of a triumph was not too much for a good cook. The man who by his exquisite skill could enable his master to eat up his fortune, was in the highest request. *Coqui triumphorum pretiis parabuntur; nullusque prope jam mortalis æstimatur pluris, quam qui peritissime censum domini mergit.* Plin.

lib. ix. s. 17. Statius, in an elegant poem, giving an account of the manner in which he passed a night with a friend, says, they had no fashionable dishes, no rarities from distant climates, and no wines of an age to vie with consuls of ancient date. Wretched they, who know the difference between the Phasian bird and the crane of Rhodopè; who can tell what kind of goose has the largest liver; why the Tuscan boar exceeds the Umbrian; and on which coast may be found the best bed of oysters!

——————— Neque enim ludibria ventris
Hausimus, aut epulas diverso a sole petitas,
Vinaque perpetuis ævo certantia fastis.
Ah! miseri, quos nosse juvat quid Phasidos ales
Distat ab hybernâ Rhodopes grue; quis magis anser
Exta ferat; cur Thuscus aper generosiór Umbro;
Lubrica quâ recubant conchylia mollius algâ.
STAT. SYLV. lib. iv. poem. 6.

Florus relates, that the Cimbrians, after their expedition over the Alps, lost all their ferocity by the use of bread, meat dressed at the fire, and the delicious wines of Italy; and, by consequence, were more easily defeated by Marius. Florus, b. iii. ch. 3.

(*d*) Thus we know, that the Europeans, when they settled in North America, soon found it their interest to supply the natives with spirituous liquors. They waged a war of gin and brandy against the various tribes, some of which have been subdued, and others almost totally extirpated, by their own drunkenness. See Charlevoix, letter viii. The same writer says, that a savage, being asked by a French officer what he thought the brandy, which he loved so much, was made of, gave for answer: "It is made of *tongues* "*and hearts;* for when I have drunk it, I "fear nothing, and I talk like an angel." Letter xxi. p. 83.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Public exhibitions cost the Athenians more than their wars. At Rome the expence was enormous, and the profession of a player was so profitable, that, according to Pliny, Roscius gained annually a sum almost incredible. In the luxury of the times that followed, immense fortunes were acquired by the public performers.

(*b*) The rage for gaming, which has been

observed among barbarians in almost every quarter of the globe, may be accounted for without much difficulty. The life of a savage is passed in war, in hunting, fishing, and in scenes of plunder and rapine. When that employment no longer calls for his exertions, he sinks down in listless indolence. The ordinary occurrences of the day have nothing to rouse his faculties. Tired of himself and of languid apathy, he wants some object to excite and agitate his passions. Gaming answers this purpose. Every thing is put to the decision of chance; hope and fear succeed each other; and joy and rage, and pleasure and disappointment, excite the strongest emotions of the soul. The danger of losing his whole stock, and even his liberty, relieves the savage from the oppression under which he laboured. The deeper the play, the more his passions are alarmed; and that inward conflict, that agitation of the mind, is the incentive that makes him delight in games of chance. Brotier quotes a remarkable passage from St. Ambrose, who gives a lively picture of a barbarous people engaged at play. The Huns, he says, a fierce and warlike race, are always subject to a set of usurers, who lend them what

they want for the purposes of gaming. They live without laws, and yet obey the laws of dice. *Et cum sine legibus vivant, aleæ solius legibus obedire.* St. Ambrose adds, that when the unsuccessful gamester has lost his all, he sets his liberty, and even his life, upon a single cast, and is accounted infamous if he does not pay his debts of honour. Upon this principle a person well known to the Roman emperor, suffered death at the command of the winner. Lafitau has an entire chapter concerning the love of play among the savages of America. He describes their manner of supplying the want of dice, by forming the bones of animals to a convenient size, with six faces, but two larger than the rest, one of them black, and the other of a pale yellow hue. One half of a village plays against the other, and often village against village. They hazard all they have, and frequently retire stark naked in the deep snow and rigour of the winter. They even stake their liberty, and go willingly into servitude. Lafitau cites Father Labat to prove the same custom among the negroes of Africa. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. ii. p. 338 to 359. See also Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 12 and 13. Dr. Robertson says, the same causes which

so often prompt persons in civilized life to have recourse to this pastime, render it the delight of the savage. Both run with transport to whatever is interesting enough to stir and agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who at other times are so indifferent, so phlegmatic, so silent, and animated with so few desires, as soon as they engage at play, become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms, are staked at the gaming-table: and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or hope, they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single cast. *Hist. of America*, vol. ii. p. 202 and 203. The love of play and dice is, undoubtedly, a passion of great antiquity, and will not easily be eradicated. A writer in Churchill's Voyages says, he went to St. Cosmo, half a league from Mexico, to see the house and gardens of Don John de Vargas; the first finely finished, and the second full of fountains. This gentleman keeps his coach and six, spends six thousand pieces of eight a year, without any other revenue but what he has from cards and dice. On some nights he wins thirty thousand pieces

of eight. Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 568. Have not such persons been heard of in Europe, and in modern times? St. Ambrose, in the tract quoted above, assigns the reason: Dice have their laws, which the courts of justice cannot conquer. *Habet et alea suas leges, quas jura fori non solvunt.* See Senftlebius, *De Alea Veterum*, p. 14.

Section XXV.

(*a*) See in Tacitus (*Annals*, b. xiv. s. 43) an account of Pedanius Secundus, who had fourscore servants in his family, with specific names for their several departments. This was called his city establishment, *familia urbana*. In the country the Romans had their rural slaves under different appellations. In Germany the slaves were prædial servants, not indeed at liberty, but annexed to the soil, *glebæ adscripti*. Their condition, Brotier observes, was the same as that of the vassals, or SERFS, who, a few centuries ago, were so numerous in every part of Europe. The German conquerors, in imitation of the Romans, had their real slaves, while those who remained in a state of rural vassalage were called LIDI. This distinction appears in the SALIC LAW,

tit. xxx. See in Spelman's *Glossary*, title *Villanus*. Villenage was a species of tenure manifestly derived from the Germans.

(*b*) A composition was paid for homicide; but still, it seems, a man might kill his slave with impunity. The Salic law provided afterwards, that he who killed the slave of another, was obliged to pay a certain fine, and the expence of the suit.

(*c*) The slave at Rome, when manumitted, was called LIBERTUS, and his descendants were LIBERTINI. In process of time, when the Franks, in their new possessions, became acquainted with money, the ceremony of enfranchisement was performed by striking out of the slave's hand a DENARIUS, and from that circumstance the freedman was called DENARIATUS. Their rank, however, was little higher than that of a slave; and by the Ripuarian law, tit. lvii. lex 4, if a freedman died without issue, his fortune went to the public treasury.

(*d*) As often as an opportunity offers, Tacitus has an eye to the manners of his own

country. He glances, in this place, at Pallas, Narcissus, Icelus, and others of that description, who, under Claudius, Nero, and Galba, rose to the first eminence in the state. The tyranny of such men was a galling yoke to every liberal mind. Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines, never transacted any kind of public business by the intervention of their freedmen. We are told that Adrian, seeing one of his slaves walking, with a familiar air, between two senators, ordered a person to go directly and give the impudent fellow a box on the face, with this monition, "Learn more respect "for those, to whom you may be transferred "as a slave." Tacitus informs us, that Agricola never suffered his slaves or freedmen to play the part of agents in the affairs of his administration. See *Life of Agricola*, s. 19. It is observed by Montesquieu (*Spirit of Laws*, b. xv. ch. 18.), that the freedmen under the emperors paid their court to the weaknesses of their masters, and then taught them to reign by their vices, not their virtues. It is remarkable that the same abuse of power that prevailed at Rome under the worst of the emperors, was also felt in those parts of Germany, where monarchy and despotism were established.

(*e*) We have here four distinct ranks; the nobles, the men of ingenuous birth, the freedmen, and the slaves. In Gaul, according to Cæsar, there were two principal orders of men, the druids and the nobles, the common people being little better than slaves. Book vi. s. 12. The Franks, in imitation of their German ancestors, had four classes of men; their nobles, their ingenuous, their LIDI, and their slaves; and this, Montesquieu observes, is clearly proved by the composition for offences proportioned to the different ranks of the several complainants. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 25. See *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 541.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) The practice of laying out money at exorbitant interest, and exacting payment with harsh severity, was an ancient grievance at Rome, and a perpetual cause of clamour and sedition. Laws, it is true, were made at various times to suppress the mischief; but those laws were eluded, because, as Tacitus says, the public good gave way to private emolument. See *Annals*, b. vi. s. 16, and note (*a*).

(*b*) The critics make it a question, whether it should be *per vices* or *per vicos*. But whether we understand that the Germans cultivated the lands by turns, or removed to different places, the difference does not seem to be material. It is, however, ascertained by Cæsar, that the magistrates portioned out yearly to every canton or family a quantity of land in what part of the country they thought proper and in the next year removed to some other spot. Many reasons are assigned for this practice; lest, seduced by habit and continuance, they should learn to prefer tillage to war; lest a desire of enlarging their possessions should prevail, and prompt the stronger to expel the weaker; lest they should become curious in their buildings, in order to guard against the extremes of heat and cold; lest avarice should get footing among them; and, in fine, to preserve contentment and equanimity among the people, when they find their possessions nothing inferior to those of the most powerful. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 21. See Duncan's Cæsar, b. vi. s. 20. Horace describes the Scythians wandering, in like manner, from place to place, and never

occupying the same spot for more than a single year.

> Campestres melius Scythæ,
> Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
> Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ,
> Immetata quibus jugera liberas
> Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
> Nec cultura placet longior annuâ.
>
> Lib. iii. ode 24.

(c) In the first ages of the world, the year was distinguished by two seasons only. Moses mentions seed-time and harvest, summer and winter. *Genesis*, ch. viii. In process of time, the exertions of industry marked out other periods; but all that the Germans wanted of the earth was corn and grain, and, the harvest being over, they had no fruits to expect in autumn. Brotier says, the Germans at this day have no distinct word in their language for the autumnal season. The term that satisfies them is HERBST, harvest. Beyond that period, the ancient Germans knew no productions of the earth, having neither orchards nor fruit-trees; and accordingly the Anglo-Saxon language has no name for autumn. That word in English was borrowed from the Latin. The *fall of the leaf* is a paraphrastical ex-

pression, denoting that season of the year by the decay of Nature, not by the maturity of her fruits.

Section XXVII.

(*a*) The simplicity of the Germans is placed by Tacitus, as often as the occasion permits, in direct contrast to Roman luxury and magnificence. Pliny relates, that Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus ordered for himself a pompous funeral, which cost a sum almost incredible. Book xxxii. And the same author says, that Arabia does not produce in a whole year the quantity of spice consumed by Nero at the funeral of Poppæa. Book xii. The Romans borrowed their superfluous pomp from the eastern nations, and particularly from the Persians, who did not burn the dead bodies, but deposited them in sepulchres of superb structure, where they heaped an immense quantity of spices, and a profusion of rich ornaments. Plutarch mentions at the funeral of Sylla two hundred and ten plates of exquisite spices, and the images of Sylla and his lictor constructed with frankincense and cinnamon. The following lines in Lucan, describing the last honours paid by Cornelia to

the remains of Pompey the Great, happily illustrate the custom of the Romans:

Collegit vestes miserique insignia Magni,
Armaque, et impressas auro, quas gesserat olim,
Exuvias, pictasque togas, velamina summo
Ter conspecta Jovi, funestoque intulit igni.
PHARSAL. lib. ix. v. 175.

To her lord's shade she builds a funeral pile,
And decks it proud with many a noble spoil.
There shone his arms with antique gold inlaid,
There the rich robes which she herself had made;
The relics of his past victorious days
Now this his latest trophy serve to raise,
And in one common flame together blaze.
ROWE, b. ix. v. 294.

(*b*) The things which a German valued most, were his arms and his horse. These were added to the funeral pile, with persuasion that the deceased would have the same delight in his new state of existence. Hence the same custom in almost every quarter of the globe, particularly in the northern parts of Europe. It is true that Tacitus does not expressly tell us that the Germans believed in the immortality of the soul; but in sect. 39. we find, that they had a conception of a Supreme God, the Governor of the world; *reg-*

nator omnium Deus, cætera subjecta atque parentia. And since it is evident, that the Icelandic mythology attributed to the Deity infinite power, boundless knowledge, and incorruptible justice; since it appears that they did not allow the Divinity to be represented under any corporeal form, nor to be confined within the inclosure of walls; and since they were taught to offer up their adoration in woods and consecrated forests; it may be fairly inferred from that striking coincidence in the religious opinions of both nations, that the belief of a future state was part of the German creed. See *Northern Antiquities*, ch. v. We read, that in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, his spear, his sword, with his other warlike weapons, and even his horse's head, were found in his tomb. A human scull was also discovered, supposed to be that of his faithful follower. See Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise*, tom. i. p. 10. Lafitau, Charlevoix, and other travellers, describe the same notions of a future state, and the same funeral ceremonies, among the savages of America. Dr. Robertson says, as they imagine that departed spirits begin their career anew in the world whither they

are gone, they bury, together with the bodies of the dead, their bow, their arrows, and other weapons used in hunting or war; they deposit in their tomb the skins or stuffs of which they make garments, Indian corn, venison, domestic utensils, and whatever is reckoned among the necessaries in their simple mode of life. *Hist. of America*, vol. ii. b. 4. See also *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 183. Virgil describes a funeral ceremony exactly similar to that of the Germans.

At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulchrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque tubamque.
ÆNEID. lib. vi. v. 232.

This done, to solemnize the warrior's doom,
The pious hero rais'd a lofty tomb.
The tow'ring top his well-known ensigns bore,
His arms, his once loud trump, and tapering oar.
PITT'S VIRGIL.

(c) Sentiments of a similar kind occur in Seneca, and, perhaps, the distinguishing critic may trace some resemblance in the expression. A year, he says, is allowed to female grief, not with intent that the whole time should be so employed, but that it should not be protracted longer. No time is prescribed to the men, because none is proper. *Annum*

fœminis ad lugendum constituere majores, non ut tamdiu lugerent, sed ne diutius: viris nullum legitimum tempus est, quia nullum honestum. Epist. 64. In another place, he says, Our ancestors did not forbid grief and mourning, but they fixed the bounds; observing a just mean between the tenderness of affection and the rules of reason, they wisely said, Feel regret for your friends, but conquer it. *Majores nostri non prohibuerunt luctus, sed finierunt: optimum inter pietatem et rationem temperamentum est, et sentire desiderium, et opprimere. De Consol.* cap. 15. He talks in another place of birds and other animals that love their young with ardent affection; but their love dies with their offspring. This, he says, does not become a man: let him continue to remember, but let him cease to grieve. *Meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat.* Epist. 99. The same rule has taken place among the American savages. Lafitau observes, that the women vent their grief in songs of bitter lamentation, and floods of tears; but the men consider that excess as a weakness beneath their dignity. They sit in pensive silence, and grieve inwardly; sensible of their loss, but not unmanned by tenderness.

The author of the *European Settlements in America* says, the women lament the loss with bitter cries, and the most hideous howlings, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased, and those of his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 183.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) We are now come to what may be called the second part of this Treatise. The author has taken a survey of the general manners, and he now proceeds to give a distinct account of the several states that occupied the various divisions of the country. It has been observed (s. 1. note *a*), that the Upper and Lower Germany, which lay on the side of Gaul, *Gallia Cisrhenana*, is not comprised in this inquiry. It is Germany beyond the Rhine, *Germania Transrhenana*, that the author intends to describe. He begins his chart near the head of the Rhine, and follows down the current of that river to its mouth, where it discharges itself into the German Ocean. From that place he proceeds eastward along the coast of the Baltic to the Vistula, or the Weissel. Tacitus

accedes to the opinion of Julius Cæsar, who says, that formerly the Gauls exceeded the Germans in military fame, often made war upon them, and, abounding in people, sent several colonies over the Rhine. Accordingly the VOLCÆ took possession of the fertile plains in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian Forest, known to Greek writers by the name of *Orcinia*. They were distinguished by their bravery, and no less remarkable than the Germans for their poverty, their abstinence, and laborious way of life. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 23. It is worthy of notice, that Tacitus calls Cæsar the most respectable of authors, *summus auctorum*, and yet, in some instances, differs from him. It is therefore reasonable to conclude, that whenever a variance arises between them, Tacitus did not wilfully seek occasion to contradict a writer of great authority. Many years had passed since Cæsar threw his bridge over the Rhine; the Romans had penetrated farther into the heart of the country; new channels of information were opened, and time had, probably, wrought many changes.

(*b*) The Hercynian Forest, according to Cæsar's account, was about nine days' journey

in breadth; that being the only way of computing it, as the Germans were ignorant of the use of measures. It began from the confines of the Helvetians, the Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extending towards the Danube, reached the territory of the Dacians; and, turning thence from the banks of the river, covered a vast tract of country. Numbers travelled six days into this forest, yet no one pretended to have reached the farthest limit. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 24. Pliny the elder, who had been in Germany, gives a description of this prodigious forest, lib. xvi. s. 2. Gronovius and other commentators say, that the German word is *Hirtsenwald*, importing the forest of stags. The Romans softened the barbarous sound to their own idiom, by calling it *Hercynia Silva*. It is now cut down in many places, or parcelled out into woods, which go by particular names, such as the Black Forest; *La Forêt de Hartz*. Some of the woods in Bohemia are supposed to be a remnant of the Hercynian Forest. The Helvetians inhabited originally what is now called Switzerland, with a wide tract of country extending towards Lyons. The time when they migrated into Germany cannot now be ascertained. It is

known, however, that they settled in Germany near the Hercynian Forest, and occupied the country now called Suabia, between the Rhine, the Mænus or the Mein, and the Black Forest.

(c) The Boians were originally a people of Gaul, bordering on the Helvetians, in the country now called the Bourbonnois. The time of their migration into Germany cannot be fixed with precision. Livy mentions a colony of Gauls sent into Germany in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. He says, that Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, who reigned over the Celtæ, being the third part of Gaul, sent his sister's son Sigovesus into the Hercynian Forest, in order to discharge a redundant multitude from his own dominions, which, at that time, were greatly over-peopled. Book v. s. 34. It is most probable that the Boians and Helvetians joined in that expedition. La Bletterie is of opinion that the Boians occupied part of what is now called Bohemia. He says, the old German term *heim* or *haim* signifies habitation, and thence the French derived *hameau;* and the compound word *Boiohæmum* was *the habitation*

of the Boians. We read in Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. s. 109) that *Boiohæmum* was the name of the country occupied by Maraboduus. In the reign of Augustus Cæsar the Boians, expelled by the Marcomanni, retired towards the Danube, where their territory was called Boiaria, now Bavaria.

(*d*) Of these two nations little is now known. It is, however, probable that the Araviscians inhabited the Upper Hungary, and that the Osians occupied the eastern part of the country near the source of the Vistula. Tacitus doubts whether the latter were a German race, and, in sect. 43, he seems convinced, by their use of the Pannonian language, and the acquiescence with which they submitted to pay a tribute, that they were adventitious settlers in Germany. The commentators make it probable that they bordered on the Marcomanni, and occupied the northern part of Hungary beyond the Danube. See Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, vol. i. p. 184.

(*e*) The Treverians inhabited what is now called *the diocese of Treves;* the territory of the Nervians was near Cambray. See more

concerning the Nervians, Cæsar's *Comment.* lib. ii.

(*f*) These three nations migrated from Germany into Gaul. The Vangiones, according to Brotier, occupied *the diocese of Worms;* the Triboci, *the diocese of Strasbourg;* the Nemetes, *the diocese of Spire.* Though originally Germans, they were all settled in Gaul before Cæsar carried his victorious arms through every part of the country.

(*g*) During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Ubians, then settled on the German side of the Rhine, sent their ambassadors to the Roman general, and, having delivered hostages, and formed an alliance, implored his protection against the Suevians, by whom they were dreadfully oppressed. It was in consequence of these remonstrances that Cæsar resolved to build his bridge over the Rhine. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. s. 16. From that time the Ubians were obnoxious to the German nation. Their alliance with the Romans, and their having called in a foreign aid, inflamed the indignation of their enemies. Pressed and persecuted by the Cattians, they applied to the

Romans for a safe retreat on the Gallic side of the Rhine. Their request was granted, and lands were assigned to them in the country now called the Electorate of Cologne. The exact time of this migration cannot now be fixed with certainty. Agrippa commanded in Gaul in the years of Rome 716 and 735; and it was, most probably, in one of those expeditions that he received the Ubians under the protection of Rome. The Ubians in their new settlement built a city on the banks of the Rhine. It was the birth-place of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and the mother of Nero. Being married afterwards to the emperor Claudius, she established a colony of veterans in the city of the Ubians, which was from that time called *the Agrippinian colony;* and thence the modern name of *Cologne*. The people were pleased with a title, which at once did honour to their protectress, and recalled the name of the first founder. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 27.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) The Batavians are often celebrated by Tacitus for their bravery, their skill in swimming across rivers, and their faithful attach-

ment to the interest of Rome. In the second book of the *Annals*, s. 10, we find them fighting under Germanicus. In the fourth book of the History, they are said to be originally of the Cattian nation. Driven out by their countrymen, they occupied a marshy island, formed by the German Ocean and two branches of the Rhine. They adhered with unshaken constancy to the Romans. They served in Britain as auxiliaries, and in Italy under Vitellius. Inflamed at length by the turbulent spirit of CIVILIS, they threw off the yoke, and, having stormed the Roman encampments, obliged the legions to lay down their arms, and even to swear fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. See the account of this war in the fourth and fifth books of the *History*. The Batavian island is said in the *Annals*, b. ii. s. 6, to be formed by two branches of the Rhine; one running in a direct course, and with a rapid current, till it empties itself in the German Ocean; the other more gentle, falling into the Vahal (now the Waal), and thence through the broad mouth of the Mosa (the Meuse) into the Ocean. It is certain, however, that there was another outlet, since Tacitus mentions the canal made by Drusus,

the father of Germanicus, through which the Rhine had a communication with several prodigious lakes that discharged themselves into the Ocean. Germanicus sailed through the canal of Drusus to the open sea. See *Annals*, b. ii. s. 8. Grotius, the scholar, and, it may be added, the rival, of Tacitus, in his *History of the Wars with Spain*, which, in imitation of his master, he called Annals, has given an account of the country, that may with propriety be inserted in this place.—The isle of Batavia was famous in ancient times. Lying between Gaul and Germany, it afforded convenient opportunities for carrying on the operations of war. The inhabitants were originally a people of the Cattians. Having formed an alliance with the Romans, they furnished levies, and were subject to no other burthen; distinguished by their skill in horsemanship, their dexterity in swimming, and their bravery, no less than their fidelity. When Civilis, in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, excited them to a revolt, and roused the people of Gaul to assert their liberty, they carried on the war with undaunted valour. *Antiquis temporibus nobilissima fuit Batavorum insula. Germanis Gallisque media, positu ad ducen-*

dum transmittendumque bellum opportunissimo. Nomen habitatoribus et origo a Cattis. Romanâ societate, extra dilectus, cætera sui juris egere; equitandi, nandi peritia, fide, virtute auxiliarium honoratissima. Neo minus clari eo bello, quo, sub initia Vespasiani, Civili duce, Gallias ad libertatem excitarunt. Grotius goes on to give a description of the isle of Batavia. The Rhine, he says, branching off into the Vahal, and flowing also in another channel, where it still retained its own name, embraced the island of Batavia, and through two different mouths discharged itself into the ocean. That which lay to the right, and opened to the sea near Leyden, being narrow and scanty, was in time lost in the Leck and a waste of sand. The other branch of the river, which ran into the Vahal, flowed into the Meuse, and through that opening emptied itself into the German Ocean. At present, before it reaches the mouth of the Meuse, it washes a number of islands, and, being frequently swelled by inundations from the sea, it spreads a surface more like a sea than the current of a river. The third channel, through which the Rhine flows on the right hand farther towards the north, was the military work

of Drusus. The river falling through that artificial canal into the Issel, and thence into the lakes, which divide the two nations of the Frisians, contracted its current near the isle of Flevus, and took the name of that place during the rest of its course into the ocean. But the face of this whole country has been so changed by inundations, that now the whole body of water looks more like an irruption of the sea, than the bed of a river. *Eam insulam Rhenus in Vahalim et sui nominis alveum distinctus, et duobus maxime capitibus in oceanum influens, amplectitur. Dextrum Lugduno non procul exibat, olim etiam tenue, post vi tempestatis sabulo obstructum, aquas in Leccam vertit. Sinistro Mosæ mixtus Vahalis ostio tenus ripis continebatur. Hodie, antequam eo perveniat, varias insulas interfusus, ob crebra diluvia in maris speciem transiit. Tertium Rheno ostium, quod a dextro longius in Septentriones abit, Drusus aperuit. Nam in Isalam flumen perductus amnis opere militari, inde se immergens in lacus, quibus Frisiorum nationes distinebantur, arctatusque apud Flevum insulam, hoc eodem accepto nomine in oceanum effluebat. Cæterum et hæc facies locorum ita mutata est, ut non emitti*

fluvius, sed contra, mare terras irrupisse, et, angusto primum ingressu, laxare mox se in spatium ingentis sinus videbatur. The bay or gulf mentioned by Grotius, is called a lake by Tacitus, and now bears the name of *Zuiderzee.* Heylin, in his *Cosmography,* gives to the Rhine four openings into the sea. The first is called the Wael, which, running through Gelderland by Nimmegen, loses itself in the Maes; the second, which keeps the name of the Rhine, passes by Arnhem, and thence in a contracted channel to Utrecht, and so through Holland and Leyden. The third, called the Leck, takes its course through the provinces of Utrecht and Holland, and so into the sea betwixt Dort and Rotterdam. And the fourth, called the Yssell, which passing by the towns of Zulphen and Deventer, betwixt Gelderland and Over-Yssel, empties itself into the ocean near Amsterdam. Heylin, p. 310. From these accounts it is evident, that the Vahal, or Wael, flowed on the western side of Batavia; but which of the other two, according to Tacitus and Grotius, or the three, according to Heylin, washed the right hand side of the island, remains uncertain. The commentators are agreed, that the

name of the island, which was probably latinised by the Romans, implied a flat marshy country; and, to confirm their opinion, they observe that there is at this day, between the Rhine and the Leck, a low swampy district called BETUVE.

(*b*) The Mattiaci inhabited lands between the Rhine and the Visurgis (the WESER). Their country was partly in Weteravie, and partly in Hesse. Brotier says, Mattium, their capital, is now called Marpurg, and that the fountains (FONTES MATTIACI) are known by the name of Wis-baden, near Mentz.

(*c*) The country where the decumate lands were situated is now called Suabia. During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Marcomanni were in possession. In the time of Augustus, Maroboduus, their king, a brave, politic, and ambitious prince, saw that the Rhine was not a sufficient barrier between him and the Roman arms. He resolved to seek a new habitation in a more remote part of the country. Migrations in Germany were attended with little difficulty. They had neither fortified towns, nor houses strongly built; and all their wealth

consisted in herds of cattle. Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanni, marched into Bohemia, and expelled the Boians. Suabia being thus evacuated, the neighbouring Gauls were invited by the fertility of the soil. A band of adventurers, supposed to be the Sequani, the Rauraci, and Helvetii, took possession of the vacant lands; and, being subjects of the empire, they continued to own their former masters, and, as was necessary in their new situation, to crave the protection of Rome. The Romans, in return, demanded a tenth of the product of the lands. Hence they were called *decumates*. Cicero says, the whole soil of Sicily is decuman. *Omnis ager Siciliæ decumanus est*. The tithe of their products was the tribute usually paid by the provinces that made a voluntary submission to the Romans. Suabia was converted by the new settlers into a Roman province, and, as Tacitus expressly says, was defended from the incursions of the Germans by a chain of posts. Tacitus wrote his Treatise in the second consulship of Trajan. That emperor repaired all the forts erected by Drusus, and the several commanders in Germany. Hadrian raised a rampart, which extended from Neustadt, on the banks

of the Danube, over a large tract of country as far as the Neckar, near Wimpsen, a space of sixty French leagues. This rampart, La Bletterie says, subsisted in the time of Aurelian, but could then no longer withstand the irruption of the German nations. Those fierce invaders bore down all opposition, till the emperor Probus checked their progress, and, in the place of the former rampart, which was raised with wood and turf, built a stone wall to repress the enemy. The design was grand, but it proved ineffectual. About the beginning of the third century of the Christian æra, the Germans began to see, that, while they fought in detached parties, the general interest was in danger. The spirit of liberty was roused, and a combination was formed to act with the united vigour of all Germany. Towards the Lower Rhine a league was formed under the name of the FRANKS; a word that signified FREEMEN. Towards the southern parts of the Rhine, the people bordering on the decumate lands, and the stone wall of Probus, established another confederation, under the name of ALLMANNI, importing that it was the league of a brave people, ALL MEN; *omnes viri*. In the following verses of Claudian we

find that poet no stranger to the name of the *Franks* and the *Alamanni*.

———Pavidoque orantes murmure FRANCI
Procubuere solo. Juratur Honorius absens,
Imploratque tuum supplex ALAMANNIA nomen.
DE IV. CONSULAT. HONORII, v. 447.

In the time of Dioclesian and Maximin, the wall built by Probus was overturned by the German invaders, who possessed themselves of the decumate country, and called it ALAMANNIA. The word has been adopted by the French, who call Germany by the name of ALMAGNE, and the Germans, les ALESMANS. See *Alsatia Illustrata*, tom. i. p. 174 and 241.

Section XXX.

(*a*) The territory of the Mattiaci is said by the commentators to have been between the Rhine, the Mayne, the river Sala, and part of the Hercynian Forest near the Weser; now the countries of Hesse, Thuringia, part of Paderborn, and Franconia. Brotier says, that what Cæsar, Florus, and Ptolemy, have remarked of the Suevi, should always be understood of the Catti. Leibnitz supposes that

the people were called Catti, from some resemblance in point of agility to a cat, the German word for that animal being CATTE.

(*b*) Brotier quotes a passage from Vegetius, in which that author gives a lively description of the form and structure of body proper for a soldier. Let the youth intended for a martial life have a quick piercing eye, a neck firm and erect, an open chest, broad and muscular shoulders, strong fingers, a length of arm, the belly not too prominent, legs well shaped, without superfluous flesh either on the calf or the foot, well braced with hard and close compacted sinews. Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 6.

(*c*) This was an improvement in military discipline beyond the rest of the Germans. In the Roman armies the general was the main strength; and accordingly Livy says, it was evident that the republic succeeded more by her general officers than by the armies of the commonwealth. *Ut facile appareret, ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse.* Livy, lib. ii. Florus expresses a similar thought with his usual brevity; *Tanti exercitus, quanti imperator.* Lib. ii. cap. 18. The value of

an army, is in proportion to the skill of the general. Quintilian agrees with the two historians; he says, If we make a fair estimate, it is by military discipline that the Roman name has flourished to this day with undiminished lustre. We do not abound in numbers more than other nations; nor are our bodies more robust than the Cimbrians. We are not richer than many powerful monarchies; our contempt of death does not exceed that of the barbarians, who have no allurement to make them fond of life. What gives us the advantage over other nations, is the military system established by the institutions of our ancestors; our attention to discipline; our love of labour, and our constant preparation for war, assiduously kept alive by unremitting exercise. We conquered more by our manners, than by force of arms. Quintilian, *Pro Milite*, Declam. iii. s. 14.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) Vows of this kind occur in the history of various nations. In the days of chivalry the same custom prevailed, and manifestly owed its origin to the practice of the Germans, who over-ran all Europe. He who under-

took a bold enterprise, or thirsted for revenge, made a vow never to sleep in a bed, nor take off his clothes day or night, till he had executed his grand design. Upon this principle Civilis, the Batavian chief, curtails his hair and beard as soon as he had performed his promise. See Tacitus, *History*, b. iv. s. 61. Lipsius, in his note on that passage, mentions from the History of the Langobards six thousand Saxons, who survived the slaughter of their countrymen, and bound themselves by a solemn vow, neither to shave their beards nor cut their hair, till they had revenged themselves on the Suevian nation. Brotier relates the same fact from Warnefrid's *History of the Lombards*, b. iii. ch. 7. This practice of encouraging the growth of the hair was known to Silius Italicus and accordingly that poet mentions, among the slain in one of his battles, a Gaul, who had bound himself by a similar vow, never to be shorn till he returned victorious from the field of battle.

> Occumbit Sarmens, flavam qui ponere victor
> Cæsariem, crinemque tibi, Gradive, vovebat
> Auro certantem, et rutilum sub vertice nodum.
>
> BELL. PUNIC. lib. iv. v. 200.

A modern instance of this custom occurs in

Strada's *History of the Wars between Spain and the United Provinces.* After relating at some length the charge against Egmont and Horn, with their sentence and execution, the historian adds, that William Lume, one of the counts of Marc, bound himself by a barbarian vow (as Civilis the Batavian chief had formerly done in his war with the Romans) not to divest himself of his hair, till he obtained revenge for the deaths of the two slaughtered heroes. Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, lib. vii. p. 338. Grotius relates the same event with the brevity of his master Tacitus. Egmont and Horn, he says, two men no less distinguished by their martial exploits than by their illustrious birth, were brought forth at Brussels as soon as mass was ended, and, by order of the duke of Alva, executed on a public scaffold. Their heads, affixed to two high poles, exhibited a public spectacle, which the Dutch beheld with horror. A band of soldiers under arms overawed the common people, and controlled their looks, their tears, and their complaints; but compassion sunk the deeper, and revenge took possession of every brave and warlike mind. An incredible multitude gathered round the tombs of the two victims,

printing kisses on the place, and washing it with their tears. Numbers vowed to let their hair grow into length, and, according to the ancient custom, never to shorten it till they revenged that noble blood. *Hi duo viri, omnium confessione eminentissimi, nec minus factis quam stirpe illustres, Bruxellæ, post sacra Romano ritu peracta, loco publico cervices carnifici præbuere. Capita aliquamdiu suffixa palis, Belgarum in oculis atrox spectaculum; et quamquam circumfusa arma vocibus ac prope vultibus imminebant, altius animis omnium miseratio, fortiorum etiam ultio insedit; cum incredibilis turbæ osculis et fletu sepulchra celebrarentur, alii vero et comas promitterent, priscum in morem obligato oris habitu, quem non mutarent, nisi vindicato tam nobili sanguine.* Grotius, *Annal.* b. ii. p. 40.

(*b*) This custom of voluntarily putting on a badge of slavery was observed by the descendants of the Germans in various parts of Europe, and in the times of chivalry seems to have grown into general use. It was then a mark of amorous gallantry. In the year 1414, John, duke of Bourbon, to distinguish himself

in the service of his mistress, associated himself with sixteen knights and squires, who all joined him in a vow, by which they obliged themselves to wear a ring round their left legs on every Sunday for two years; that of the knights to be gold, and that of the gentlemen silver. And this they were to perform till it should be their lot to meet with an equal number of knights and squires to engage with them in the tournament. Vertot, *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 595.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) The Usipii are supposed to have occupied the duchy of Cleves, and part of the bishopric of Munster. Martial makes mention of this people:

> Sic leve flavorum valeat genus Usipiorum.
>
> Lib. vi. epig. 60.

Cæsar calls them *Usipetes;* and they, he says, with the Tencteri, were driven by the Suevians from their territories; and, having wandered over many regions of Germany during a space of three years, they settled at last on the banks of the Rhine, near the Menapians,

who had lands on both sides of the river. Cæsar, b. iv. s. 1. Afterwards, in the reign of Augustus, when the Sicambri were transplanted to the west side of the Rhine by Tiberius, who commanded the legions in those parts, the Usipians and Tencterians succeeded to the lands left vacant in Germany; supposed now to be the duchy of Berg, and Mark, Lipp, Waldeck, and the bishopric of Paderborn. In the *History of Tacitus*, b. iv. s. 64, we see them acting in conjunction with Civilis against the Romans.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) The Bructerians dwelt betwen the Rhine, the Luppia (the Lippe), and Amisia (the Ems). The country is now supposed to be Westphalia, and Over-Yssel. They entered into an alliance with Civilis, the Batavian chief; and, having in the course of that war incurred the hatred of their countrymen, they were at length exterminated. It is observable, however, that Tacitus does not state the ruin of this people as a positive fact. He mentions it as a report. That they were still a people, appears in a letter of Pliny, who wrote in the time of Trajan. The emperor, he tells us,

decreed a triumphal statue to Vestritius Spurinna, who, without the necessity of coming to an engagement, humbled the Bructerians by the terror of his name. The barbarians had experienced his courage and his conduct, and therefore not only received their king from him, but quietly submitted to their former government. Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 7. It is probable, therefore, that Tacitus was misinformed. Claudian, the celebrated poet, who flourished in the fourth century of the Christian æra, in the time of the emperor Theodosius, mentions the Bructerians as a people who, with the rest of the German nations, submitted to the Roman general.

——————venit accola Sylvæ
Bructerus Hercyniæ.

De IV. Consul. Honorii, v. 450.

It is still to be observed, that neither this passage in Claudian, nor that in Pliny's letter, has fixed the place where the Bructerians resided. If, according to the poet, they were contiguous to the Hercynian Forest, it confirms what Tacitus says, that they were driven from their territory. Wherever they dwelt, there is reason to conclude that they were still a people. The report to the contrary seems

to have had no foundation. Eccard (*De Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, vol. i. p. 304) says, they settled between Cologne and Hesse, and were afterwards engaged in the league of the Franks.

(*b*) The Chamavians occupied a territory near the banks of the Amisia (the Ems), supposed to be Lingen and Osnabrug. The Angrivarians bordered on the Visurgis (the Weser), where at present are Minden and Schawenburg. They were also called Angrarii; a word which, Gronovius observes, according to the German etymology, signifies AGGRESSORS. Brotier says, they were afterwards a part of the Saxon nation; and, for proof of this, he refers to the code of Saxon laws. The same writer adds, that the battle which, in conjunction with the Angrivarians, they fought against the Bructerians, was decided on a plain near the canal of Drusus (see s. xxix. note *a*), and the account of that prodigious slaughter arrived at Rome in the first year of the emperor Trajan. Tacitus on this occasion seems to exult in the destruction of the human species. *Above sixty thousand of the Germans*, he says, *lay dead on the field of*

battle; a glorious spectacle for the legions who beheld that scene of blood. The ambition of the Romans aiming always at universal dominion, it was part of their policy to give the name of barbarians to the nations that did not tamely submit to their victorious arms. The combats of their gladiators enured them to blood and carnage from their very infancy; and, by consequence, they considered the race of man as so many victims, who were to bleed for the ambition of a people who aspired to be the governors of the world. To conquer the proud (*debellare superbos*) was a state maxim, and moral virtue gave way to fierce ambition. There is a passage in Livy not unlike what is said by Tacitus, but not delivered with the same harshness of expression. A contention, he says, arose between the Volsci and the Æqui; each claiming a right to name a commander in chief for their confederate army. A violent sedition followed, and the consequence was a bloody engagement, in which the good fortune of the Roman people destroyed two armies of the enemy. *Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Æquine imperatorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox prœlium ostum. Ibi for-*

tuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus, haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci certamine, confecit. Livy, lib. ii. s. 40.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) It is difficult to fix the residence of these two nations. The commentators seem disposed to assign them the country near the head of the river Lippe; and thence it is thought that they removed to the lands evacuated by the Angrivarians and Chamavians, when they expelled the Bructerian nation. They seem to have been the same with those whom Velleius Paterculus calls the Attuarii: see Paterc. lib. ii. s. 105. They were afterwards part of the Francic league. The nations of inferior note, said by Tacitus to have dwelt in their neighbourhood, are supposed by Brotier to have been the Ansibarii and Tubantes. The former he thinks should rather be called Amsibarii, from their vicinity to the river Amisia.

(*b*) The Flevus, in the time of the Romans, was a great lake. Germanicus *entered it through the artificial branch of the Rhine made by Drusus. Annals*, b. ii. s. 8. It has

been since enlarged by irruptions of the sea, and is now the great gulf called Zuyder-Zee. The Lesser Frisians were settled on the south-west side of the bay, occupying the whole or part of Holland and Utrecht. The Greater Frisians were on the north-east of the lake or gulf, in the territory now called Groningen, extending themselves along the sea-coast as far as the river Amisia (now the Ems). The name of the Frisians seems to be preserved in that of Friesland, the most northern of the United Provinces.

(c) One of the inundations which changed the lake into a gulf of the sea, happened so late as the year 1530, and swallowed up seventy-two villages. Another happened in the year 1569, and overwhelmed the coast of Holland, and laid all Friesland under water. In that flood no less than 20,000 persons lost their lives. Where the pillars of Hercules stood cannot now be known with certainty. The extreme point of land, where nothing but the open sea lay beyond it, was in ancient times said to be the spot on which the pillars of Hercules were erected. Some of the commentators contend that the spot intended by Tacitus

was on the coast of the Frisians; others will have it to be the point of the CIMBRIAN CHERSONESUS, now Jutland.

(*d*) Drusus was the younger brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus. See the *Genealogical Table of the Cæsars*, vol. ii. No. 79. History ascribes to him the most amiable character, and every Roman virtue. Though educated at the court of Augustus, he was in sentiment a republican. He commanded in Germany, and carried his victorious arms as far as the Elbe. He imposed a tribute on the Frisians (see *Annals*, b. iv. s. 72), and, in order to explore the German Ocean, sailed as far as the point of Jutland: but the art of navigation being then little understood, he did not venture to proceed farther in that violent and tempestuous sea.

(*e*) Tacitus, perhaps, alluded to the precept of the philosopher, who said, *Worship God, believe in him, but do not presume to investigate his nature*: DEUM COLE, ATQUE CREDE, SED NOLI QUÆRERE. The ancients, says La Bletterie, thought it presumptuous to enquire too far into the myste-

ries of nature; and the moderns do not spare the mysteries of religion.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) The territory of the Chaucians extended from the Ems (Amisia) to the Elbe (Albis), and the German Ocean washed the northern extremity. The nation was distinguished into the Greater and the Lesser, divided from each other by the Visurgis (the Weser). The former dwelt (as appears in *Annals*, b. ii. s. 18 and 19) between the Ems and the Weser; the latter on the north-east side of the Weser, between that river and the Elbe. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, has represented the maritime inhabitants in lively colours. He says, he himself had seen the Greater and the Lesser Chaucians, living in a vast level country, which is overflowed twice in the day and night by the reflux of the tide, and leaves a perpetual doubt, whether it is sea or land. Pliny adds, that the wretched inhabitants live on the ridge of hills, or in mud cottages, raised above the high-water mark, having no cattle, no milk, and no fruits of the earth. Fish is their only sustenance, and they catch it with lines made of flags and sea-weed. Their fuel is the com-

mon mud, taken up with their hands, and dried rather by the wind than the sun. With fire made of this kind of peat, they warm their food and their bodies almost frozen. The rain-water, collected in ditches round their huts, is their only drink. *Sunt vero in Septemtrione visæ nobis gentes Chaucorum, qui Majores Minoresque appellantur. Vasto ibi meatu, bis dierum noctiumque singularum intervallis, effusus in immensum agitur oceanus, æternam operiens rerum naturæ controversiam, dubiumque terra sit, an pars maris. Illic misera gens tumulos obtinet altos, aut tribunalia structa manibus ad experimenta altissimi æstus casis ita impositis. Non pecudem his habere, non lacte ali, ne cum feris quidem dimicare contigit, omni procul abacto frutice. Ulvâ et palustri junco funes nectunt ad prætexenda piscibus retia; captumque manibus lutum ventis magis quam sole siccantes; hac terrâ cibos et rigentia Septemtrione viscera sua urunt. Potus non nisi ex imbre servato scrobibus in vestibulo domus.* Pliny, lib. xvi. s. 1. Pliny concludes his account of the Chaucians with an observation natural in the mouth of a man, who, with the rest of his country, thought that Rome, as mis-

tress of the world, had a right to give laws to the nations round her, and that subjection was the duty of barbarians. If, he says, that wretched people were conquered by the Romans, they would call it slavery, and complain of the yoke of bondage. The fact is, Fortune spares some nations, but her mercy is the severest punishment. She leaves them to their misery. *Et hæ gentes, si vincantur hodie a populo Romano, servire se dicunt. Ita est profectò: multis Fortuna parcit in pœnam.* Pliny, it should seem, thought luxury a sufficient compensation for the loss of liberty: he did not reflect, that to live under the arbitrary will of man is the worst lot of human life, and that independence can make *barren rocks and bleak mountains smile.* Lucan differed widely from Pliny: Liberty, he says, fled from the guilt of civil war beyond the Tigris and the Rhine, never to return, though often sought by the Romans at the risk of life. In his emphatic manner he calls liberty *a German and a Scythian blessing.*

—— Fugiens civile nefas, redituraque nunquam
Libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit,
Ac, toties nobis jugulo quæsita, negatur,
GERMANUM SCYTHICUMQUE BONUM!

LUCAN, lib. vii. v. 432.

(*b*) The Chaucians, with their love of justice and moderation, still retained their warlike spirit. To prevent their incursions, the Romans found it convenient to station garrisons at proper posts. Lucan alludes to those garrisons; but he gives the people a new name, that of CAYCI.

> Et vos crinigeros bellis arcere Caycos
> Oppositi. Lib. i. v. 463.

> You too tow'rds Rome advance, ye warlike band,
> That wont the shaggy Cauci to withstand.
> ROWE's LUCAN, b. i. v. 811.

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) The territory of the Cheruscans began near the Weser (Visurgis), and extended to the Elbe, through the countries now called Lunebourg, Brunswick, and part of Brandenbourg. Arminius, their chief, made head against the Romans with distinguished bravery, and performed a number of gallant exploits, as related by Tacitus in the first and second book of the *Annals*. He was at last cut off by the treachery of his countrymen, and his character is given in lively colours in the last section of the second book. Varus and his legions were destroyed by the zeal and

violent spirit of Arminius, as appears in the speech of Segestes, *Annals*, b. i. s. 58. The long peace, in which the vigour of this people sunk into sloth and indolence, was, perhaps, occasioned by the death of Arminius; or it might be from the time when Germanicus was recalled by Tiberius, and sent to command the legions in the east. In the time of Augustus, they occupied a large tract of country on the west side of the Weser, as appears in the accounts given by Velleius Paterculus of Drusus, and his wars in Germany.

(*b*) This is the only place in which Tacitus makes mention of the Fosi. Cluverius and others suppose that they were the same as the ancient Saxons. But this opinion does not seem to be well supported. According to Ptolemy, the Saxons inhabited the country of Holstein at the entrance of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, or Jutland. The name of the Saxons could not be mentioned by Tacitus: it was not known till long after his time, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, when, in conjunction with the ANGLES, they issued from their hive, and afterwards became masters of Britain. The Fosi were a different people. They

bordered on the Cheruscans near the Elbe; and, since we find them involved in one common calamity, they were, perhaps, subordinate to that nation.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) The Cimbri inhabited the peninsula, which, after their name, was called the Cimbric Chersonesus, and is now Jutland, including Sleswic and Holstein. In the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, A. U. C. 640, about one hundred and eleven years before the Christian æra, this people, in conjunction with the Teutones, made an irruption into Gaul, and having spread terror and devastation through the country, resolved to push their conquest into Italy. They sent a deputation to the senate, demanding an allotment of lands, and in return promising fidelity. It appears in the Epitome of Livy, lxv. that, the senate having refused to enter into any compromise with such bold invaders, the new consul, Marcus Silanus, marched against them. The Cimbri stormed his intrenchments, pillaged the camp, and put almost the whole army to the sword. This victory was followed by the defeat of three more Roman gene-

rals, who lost their camp, and had their armies cut to pieces. Florus does not hesitate to say, that Rome was on the brink of destruction, had there not existed in that age a Marius, to redeem the Roman name. That officer had triumphed over Jugurtha, and his military skill was equal to his valour. He gave battle to the Teutones at the foot of the Alps, near the place then called Aquæ Sextiæ (now Aix in Provence), and gained a complete victory. Livy says (Epitome, lxviii.), that no less than two hundred thousand of the enemy were slain in the action. The whole nation perished. Florus adds, that their king THEUTOBOCHUS was taken prisoner; and, in the triumph of Marius, his immense statue, towering above the heaps of warlike trophies, exhibited to the Roman people an astonishing spectacle. The Cimbri, in the mean time, passed over the Alps, and made a descent into Italy. They penetrated as far as the banks of the Adige, and, having crossed that river, in spite of Catulus Luctatius, the Roman general, spread a general panic through the country. They halted near the Po, and sent to Marius a second time to demand a place for their habitation. Marius answered, that "their brethren, the Teutones,

"already possessed more than they desired, "and that they would not easily quit what "had been assigned to them." Enraged by that taunting raillery, the Cimbri prepared for a decisive action. Florus says, that their vigour was relaxed by the soft clime of Italy. The battle was fought, according to Florus, at a place called Raudium, on the east side of the river Lessites, which runs from the Alpes Graiæ, and falls into the Po. Victory declared for the Romans. If we may believe Livy, Florus, and Plutarch in the life of Marius, above one hundred and forty thousand of the Cimbri perished in the engagement. Mention has already been made (s. viii. note *a*) of the behaviour of the Cimbrian women, when they saw the victory in the hands of the Romans. They dashed out the brains of their children, and completed the tragedy by destroying themselves. In this manner ended the expedition of the Cimbri. The reader who desires to see the history of that transaction more in detail, will find it related with accuracy and elegance in Mons. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 22. The number of the Cimbri, and their confederates, the Teutones, said to have been destroyed by Marius in his two engage-

ments, would seem incredible, were it not in some degree explained by Florus, who says, that the whole nation was driven by inundations of the sea to seek new habitations in every quarter of the globe. *Cum terras eorum inundasset oceanus, novas sedes toto orbe quærebant.* Florus, lib. iii. cap. 3. Plutarch, in the life of Marius, says, that the number of fighting men was 300,000, besides as great a number of women and children. Their native country, after this grand emigration, continued so depopulated, that at the end of two centuries, when Tacitus wrote this tract, it had not been able to recover itself. It was long after that the Angles and Saxons issued from their northern hive, as Sir William Temple calls it, to establish their Anglo-Saxon government in this island.

(*b*) Oriental despotism was not able to shake the solid strength of the Roman republic. Parthia was divided by a long tract of country, and by the Mediterranean Sea. The brilliant splendour of the Arsacidæ might glitter in the eyes of courtiers, whose ambition aimed at honours and marks of distinction, and the people were dazzled by the glory of their

monarch. But glory, though it is the principle that unites the subjects in support of despotism, is weak and powerless, when opposed to the virtue of a republic, or the love of freedom that pervades a fierce and savage nation. The latter is a passion implanted by the hand of nature; the motives of slaves are all artificial. The Germans took up arms in defence of liberty; the Parthians fought for the splendour of the imperial diadem, and, by consequence, rivetted their own chains. It is true that Crassus and his whole army were cut to pieces; but the Parthians delivered hostages to the Romans, and their princes received their sceptre from the hands of the emperor. The Germans made a fiercer resistance. The Cimbrians and the Teutones filled all Italy with terror. From that time, during a space of more than two centuries to the reign of Trajan, Rome and Germany were often at war, with alternate victory, and alternate slaughter. Arminius roused his countrymen against the Romans, and he is called by Tacitus the DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY. Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, declared to his people, that Syria, Asia, and the oriental nations, inured to the yoke of despotism, might

continue to crouch in bondage; but as to himself and the Gauls, they were born in freedom. By the death of Varus slavery was driven out of Germany. Those were the sentiments that inflamed the martial spirit of that adventurer. With what heroic ardour he prosecuted the war, Tacitus has related in the fourth book of his History. The historian, most probably, foresaw that German liberty would in the end accomplish the ruin of the empire; and that foreknowledge, perhaps, extorted from him the fervent prayer which he offers up (s. xxxiii.) for the continuance of civil discord among the enemies of Rome. This triumph of the Germans happened long after the time of Tacitus. In the year of Rome 1229, and of the Christian æra 476, Odoacer overturned the western empire, and left the last of the emperors to languish in a castle near Naples. Before the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne, king of the Franks, caused one of his sons to be crowned king of Italy by Pope Adrian, and, by the rapid progress of his arms, proved what Tacitus has said, that German liberty is more vigorous then eastern despotism. See Charlemagne's Preface to the Salic Law, a monument of an-

tiquity which, Brotier says, is seldom inspected even by the curious. For that reason he has given it at length in his notes on this section of Tacitus.

(c) The slaughter of Crassus and his army is well known: but in revenge Pacorus, son of Orodes, the Parthian king, was put to death, and the kingdom was reduced to a lower condition than even that of Ventidius, who gained a complete victory. Tacitus says, *infra Ventidium dejectus oriens*, alluding to the meanness of that officer's first employment: he let out mules for hire, and was afterwards raised to the consulship by Antony the triumvir. Upon that occasion a libel was fixed up in the public places of Rome, stating, as a kind of prodigy, that the man who dressed mules was made a consul.

> Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens;
> Nam mulos qui fricabat, consul factus est.

The victory obtained by this man (see Florus, lib. iv. s. 9.) places the weakness of the Parthians in a clear point of view. But the loss of so many Roman consuls with their armies,

shows the warlike genius of the Germans. Carbo was consul A. U. C. 640, and was routed by the Cimbrians with his whole army. Livy, Epitome lxiii. Lucius Cassius was consul A. U. C. 647. He himself was slain in battle, and his whole army passed under the yoke. Cæsar, b. i. s. 12. See Livy, Epitome lxv.

(*d*) Marcus Scaurus Aurelius gave battle to the Cimbrians, and his army was put to flight. He himself was taken prisoner. Being summoned to a consultation held by the enemy, he advised them not to think of passing the Alps, because the Romans were invincible. For that offence Boiorix, a young man of great ferocity, killed him on the spot. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Servilius Cæpio proconsul, and Cneius Manlius consul, were both defeated, and their camps were pillaged by the Cimbrians. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Florus, lib. iii. s. 3. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 12. This last defeat happened A. U. C. 649, and, according to Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, the anniversary was reckoned among the unlucky days. In order to do justice to the martial ardour of the Germans, Tacitus takes care to

observe that these disasters happened in the best days of Rome, that is, in the time of the republic. *Quinque simul consulares exercitus* POPULO ROMANO *abstulerunt*. He adds, that Augustus the emperor lost Varus and his three legions. The calamity made such an impression on the mind of Augustus, that, as Suetonius relates, he let his hair and beard grow for several months, at times striking his head against the wall, and exclaiming, "QUINTILIUS VARUS, GIVE ME "BACK MY LEGIONS." Sueton. *in Augusto*, s. 23. See the fine description of Germanicus and his army traversing the field where the bones of their slaughtered countrymen lay unburied. *Annals*, b. i. s. 61.

(*e*) Marius, as has been mentioned, triumphed over the Teutones and the Cimbri. See s. 37, note (*a*).

(*f*) During the troubles that followed the death of Nero, and the wars between Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, Claudius Civilis, the Batavian chief, took the field at the head of a confederate army, under a plausible pretence of promoting the interest of Vespasian, but, in

fact, to deliver his country and the Gauls from the Roman yoke. He called himself the friend of Vespasian, while he stormed the Roman camps, and obliged the legions to surrender to his victorious arms. He drew many of the German nations into a conspiracy; and acting on every occasion with consummate policy, he appears to have learned in the school of the Romans the art of contending with his masters. What he attempted was reserved for a later period, and for the abilities of William Nassau, who freed the United Provinces from the dominion of Spain. See the enterprising spirit and the gallant exploits of Civilis in the History of Tacitus, book iv. He was at length abandoned by the Germans, and, by consequence, reduced to the necessity of patching up a peace with Cerealis, the Roman general. An imperfect account of this transaction may be seen in what remains of the fifth book of the History, which has suffered by the injury of time.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) The territory occupied by the Suevians was of vast extent, stretching southward from the Baltic to the Danube, and eastward from

the Elbe to the Vistula, which was the boundary that separated Germany from Sarmatia. Several nations inhabited that vast tract of country. They formed a confederation with the Suevians, and, being so connected, were called by one general appellation. Some distinct states were subject to the Suevians, and thence derived the name of Suevians. The new league that was afterwards established took the title of ALAMANNI: see this Tract, s. 29, note (*c*). The two names have been promiscuously used by historians to signify the Suevi or the Alamanni: and hence the country, which, after the destruction of the wall erected by the emperor Probus, became the theatre of war, was alternately called Alamannia and Suabia.

(*b*) It should seem, from what is here said, that the rest of the Germans let their hair flow loosely about their head and shoulders. Seneca mentions the ruddy hair of the Germans gathered into a knot; but he does not call it a general custom: he only says it was not deemed unmanly. *Nec rufus crinis et coactus in nodum apud Germanos virum dedecet.* Seneca, *De Irâ*, lib. iii. cap. 26. Martial, in

his first book (epigram iii.) on the public spectacles exhibited at Rome, talks of the Sicambri with their hair collected into a knot:

Crinibus in nodum tortis venêre Sicambri.

In a passage already cited from Silius Italicus (s. 31, note *a)* that poet mentions the ruddy hair tied up into a knot. *Et rutilium sub vertice nodum.*

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) The Semnones occupied both banks of the Viadrus (now the ODER), with part of Pomerania, Brandenbourg, and also of Silesia. The late king of Prussia has thrown great light on the history of the Semnones. See his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenbourg.*

(*b*) The belief of a Supreme God, the governor of the universe, has been from the earliest time common to all nations, however rude and barbarous. It is well known to have been the persuasion of the Scythians, from whom the Germans derived their origin; and it is also known that the Scythians offered human sacrifices. Accordingly we find the Sem-

nones addicted to the same barbarous rites. The old treatise of Icelandic mythology, entitled the EDDA, shews that the Scandinavians believed in a Supreme Deity, "the author of "every thing that exists; the eternal, the "ancient, the living and awful Being; the "searcher into concealed things, the Being "that never changeth." See Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 78. That the Americans believed in a God and a future state, appears in Charlevoix and other travellers. This concurring opinion of all mankind is observed by Cicero, who says, there never was a people so rude, so savage, and so sunk in ignorance, as not to be impressed with the idea of a supreme all-ruling mind. The conceptions of men are, indeed, gross and extravagant; but still all acknowledge a superior Being, and a divinity that stirs within them. *Nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio. Multi de diis prava sentiunt: omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur. Tuscul. Quæstion.* lib. i. s. 13.

Section XL.

(*a*) The Langobards are supposed, in the

time of Augustus, to have inhabited the country now called Lunenbourg and Magdebourg, on the west side of the Elbe. Velleius Paterculus says, they were subdued by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, and that they were a people that exceeded even German ferocity. *Fracti Langobardi; gens etiam Germanâ ferocitate ferocior.* Vell. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 106. Suetonius (*Life of Augustus*, s. 21) says, they were driven beyond the Elbe. It is evident, however, that they afterwards recovered their strength, since we find the dominion of the Langobards flourishing in Italy, till in the year 784 they were totally subdued by Charlemagne. Their code of laws is preserved by Lindenbrogius. Tacitus has made no mention of the Burgundians, perhaps because they were in his time of little or no consideration; though at the end of several centuries they were able to made an irruption into Gaul, where they possessed the country which, after them, is to this day called the province of Burgundy. The Burgundian laws are still extant.

(*b*). With regard to the seven nations here enumerated, there are no lights of history to

guide us at a distant period. Brotier supposes that the Reudignians dwelt in what is now called Mecklenbourg and Lawenbourg. The Aviones, he thinks, were situated in a portion of the duchy of Mecklenbourg, near a river which, after their name, is called AVA by the inhabitants. The Varinians are generally thought to have occupied the eastern part of Mecklenbourg, where the city of Waren stands at present. The Eudosians, the Nuithones and Suardonians, are almost lost in the mists of antiquity. The Angles are better known. They occupied part of Holstein and Sleswick. In the fifth century they joined the Saxons in their expedition into Britain, and, by giving the name of England to the southern part of the island, immortalized the glory of their nation.

(c) As Tacitus is here speaking of the adoration paid to a goddess by the several nations whose names have been enumerated, it is not probable that, in latinizing a barbarous word, he should give it a masculine termination. The text says, HERTHUM, *id est, Terram Matrem colunt.* So, it seems, the word stands in all the manuscripts; and yet, it may

be presumed, that the author wrote HERTHAM. The name in all the northern languages signifies earth; in the ancient Gothic, *airtha*; in the Anglo-Saxon, *eortha*, *ertha*, *hertha*; in English, *earth*. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 92. The worship of Mother Earth has been common in all unenlightened nations. We read in a Latin historian, that a tremor of the earth being felt when two armies were in the heat of battle, Sempronius, the Roman general, bound himself by a vow to build a temple to the goddess. *Tremente inter prælium campo, Tellurem deam promissâ æde placavit.* Florus, lib. i. cap. 19. The deity that presided over the air and the elements, was supposed to be the FATHER of all, and the earth the MOTHER. This is clearly expressed by Lucretius:

Postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos PATER ÆTHER
In gremium MATRIS TERRAI præcipitavit,
Lib. iv. 251.

The same author, in another place, describes those two parents producing corn and fruit, and the whole human race:

Omnibus ille idem PATER est, unde alma liquentes
Humorum guttas cum MATER TERRA recepit,
Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbustaque læta,
Et genus humanum. Lib. ii. 991.

This idea of a creative power was not confined to Greece and Rome. "It was the opinion of all the Celtic nations, and of the ancient Syrians, that the Supreme Being, or celestial God, had united with the earth to produce the inferior deities, man, and all other creatures. Upon this was founded that veneration they had for the earth, which they considered as a goddess. They called her MOTHER EARTH, and the HERTHA of the Germans was the same as *Frica*, or *Frea*, the wife of Odin, mother of the Gods; she was also known under the name of ASTAGOOD, or the goddess of love; a name not very remote from the ASTARTE of the Phœnicians; and under that of GOYA, which the ancient Greeks gave to the earth. The FATHER of the gods and MOTHER EARTH were called by some of the Scythian nations JUPITER and APIA; by the Thracians, COTIS and BENDIS; by the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, SATURN and OPS. Antiquity is full of traces of this worship, which was formerly universal. The Scythians adored the earth as a goddess, wife of the supreme God; the Turks celebrated her in their hymns, and the Persians offered sacrifices to her." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91 and 95.

A festival in honour of MOTHER EARTH was instituted by the Scandinavians, and fixed at the first quarter of the second moon of the year. Mallet says, they sacrificed to the goddess the largest hog they could get. That the same worship was paid by the rude inhabitants of Italy, we have the authority of Horace in the Epistle to Augustus:

TELLUREM PORCO, Sylvanum lacte piabant.

(*d*) Cluverius pretends, that the island intended by Tacitus is the isle of RUGEN, which is in the Baltic sea, on the coast of Pomerania. He mentions a forest on the island, in the midst of which was a vast lake, always an object of superstition. La Bletterie observes, that Helmoldus, a writer of the twelfth century, calls the isle of RUGEN the centre of paganism till the missionaries converted the natives, and built a church. But the Christian religion did not long prevail. The islanders, relapsing into their former errors, banished the priests, and changed the church into a temple for their pagan worship. And yet, as Tacitus places this island in the ocean, and as he afterwards mentions the Rugians (see s. xliii.), without ascribing to them the same religious rites, it is more

likely to have been the isle of HEILIGELAND, which is not far from the mouth of the Elbe. The Angles (from whom our English ancestors derived their name) were seated on this coast; and Arnkiel hath shewn, in his Cimbric Antiquities, that the ancient Germans held this island in great veneration. The word HEILIGELAND signifies "Holy Land." See Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, tom. ii. chap. 18. Other learned men pretend that the isle in question was Zealand; but it is, after all, not very certain or important. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 93.

Section XLI.

(*a*) We are now entering on what may be considered as the third part of this Treatise. In the first the author has given a striking picture of the general manners of the whole nation, considered as a people living under the influence of the same rough northern climate. From the beginning of section xxviii. he has traced the several states from the head of the Rhine, in the country of the GRISONS, along the western side of Germany to where it branches off, and forms the isle of Batavia. From that place Tacitus has traced the seve-

ral nations to the Elbe, and along the coast of the Baltic to the Vistula, the eastern boundary of Germany. In this third division of the work he pursues the course of the Danube, as long as it divides Germany from the Vindelici, from Noricum, and Pannonia. He then follows the eastern side of the country, where a chain of mountains, or, as he expresses it, mutual fear, draws the line of separation from Dacia and Sarmatia. In this geographical chart, the first nation that occurs is that of the Hermundurians, who occupied a country of prodigious extent, at first between the Elbe, the river Sala, and Boiemum (now Bohemia), which became the territory of the Marcomanni, when that people expelled the Boians, and fixed their habitation in the conquered country. In the time of Tacitus the Hermundurians possessed the southern part of Germany, and, being faithful to the Romans, were highly favoured. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius they entered into a league with their countrymen, and met with a total defeat. The colony in the province of Rhætia (the country of the Grisons), where they enjoyed a free intercourse, was most probably AUGUSTA VINDELICORUM (now Ausbourg). Vindelica was

a part of Rhætia. The liberty of passing and repassing within the limits of the empire, without a guard to watch their motions, which was granted to the Hermundurians, was a great mark of confidence. The like indulgence was not extended to other nations, as may be seen in the complaint of the Germans to the Ubians, then inhabitants of the Agrippinian colony: The earth, they say, the light of heaven, rivers and cities are barred against us; and, to the disgrace of men born to the use of arms, we are obliged to approach the walls of your city defenceless, naked, in the custody of a guard, and even for this a price is exacted. *Ut, quod contumeliosius est viris ad arma natis, inermes, ac propè nudi, sub custode et pretio coiremus.* See *Hist.* b. iv. s. 64.

(*b*) Tacitus is supposed in this place to be guilty of a geographical mistake. The source of the Elbe is in Bohemia, among the mountains that separate that country from Silesia. Bohemia, as will be seen in the following section, was, after the expulsion of the Boians, inhabited by the Marcomanni. It should, however, be remembered that the Hermundurians served in the army of Marobodus, in his ex-

pedition against the Boians, and, perhaps, were rewarded with an allotment of lands in that part of Bohemia where the Elbe takes its rise. If so, Tacitus had made no mistake. There is a river, called the EGRA, which rises in Suabia, and this, it is supposed by some of the commentators, Tacitus confounded with the source of the Elbe; a river more known by the victories of Drusus and Tiberius, than by any discoveries made by the Romans since the days of those two commanders.

Section XLII.

(*a*) The Nariscans occupied the country between Bohemia and the Danube, which is now part of Bavaria.

(*b*) The Marcomammians, before they took possession of Boiemum, or Bohemia, are said to have inhabited the country near the Danube, now called the duchy of Wirtemburg, in the north part of the circle of Suabia. They derived their name from the circumstance of their being settled on the borders of Germany, the word MARC signifying a frontier or boundary. The Quadians occupied Moravia and part of Austria; in the time of Tacitus, a

brave and warlike people, but, in the reign of VALENTINIAN and VALENS, a nation of little consequence. See Ammianus Marcellinus, b. xxix. ch. 15.

(*c*) Maroboduus was king of the Marcomannians. For an account of him, and his alliance with the Romans against Arminius, see *Annals*, b. ii. s. 46: and see Velleius Paterculus, who says, that this prince, a barbarian by his birth, not by his talents, was able to subdue the neighbouring states, or by conventions to reduce them to subjection. *Maroboduus, natione magis quam ratione barbarus, finitimos omnes aut bello domuit, aut conditionibus sui juris fecit.* Lib. ii. s. 108. He was attacked afterwards by Catualda at the head of a powerful army, and driven from his throne. He fled for refuge into Italy, and lived a state prisoner at Ravenna during a space of twenty years, forgetting all his former dignity, and growing grey in disgrace and misery. *Annals*, b. ii. s. 63. With regard to Tudrus, the other prince mentioned by Tacitus, nothing is known at present.

(*d*) We are told by Tacitus that it was the

policy of Rome to make even kings the instruments of her ambition. With this view, the emperors disposed of sceptres whenever an occasion offered itself; and accordingly Tiberius, to keep in subjection a large body of German emigrants, appointed Vannius to reign over them. *Annals*, b. ii. s. 63. When the German prince was afterwards attacked by the Hermundurians, the emperor Claudius declined to take any part in the war, thinking it sufficient to promise the German king a safe retreat, if the insurgents prevailed against him. *Annals*, b. xii. s. 29. We read in Dio, b. lxvii. that the Lygians, harassed in Mysia by the Suevians, sent their ambassadors to solicit the protection of Domitian, who was unwilling to involve the empire in a war, and therefore sent a slender force, but privately assisted with a supply of money.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) History has not left materials for an accurate account of the four nations here enumerated. The commentators, however, assign their territories in the following manner. The Marsignians dwelt on the north-east of Bohemia, near the Viadrus (now the Oder),

which rises in Moravia, and runs through Silesia, Brandenbourg, and Pomerania into the Baltic. The Gothinians inhabited part of Silesia, and Hungary. The Osians bordered on the last people, and extended as far as the Danube. The Burians were settled near the Krapack mountains, and the sources of the Vistula.

(*b*) Ptolemy mentions iron-mines in or near the country of the Quadians. The Gothinians laboured in those mines, and had therefore, says Tacitus, more reason to be ashamed of their submission. This is well explained by Ernest, the German editor: they had iron, and did not make use of it to assert their liberty. The answer of Solon to Crœsus, king of Lydia, is well known: The people, he said, who have most iron, will be masters of all your gold. The Gothinians did not understand that plain and obvious truth.

(*c*) These are the mountains between Moravia, Hungary, Silesia, and Bohemia.

(*d*) The nation of the Lygians inhabited part of Silesia, of Prussia, and Poland as far

as the banks of the Vistula. They are mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. s. 29.

(*e*) The situation of these several tribes cannot be stated with any degree of certainty. Brotier, and other learned critics, place them in Silesia, Brandenbourg, and Poland, between the Viadrus (the ODER) and the Vistula. Some of the commentators will have it, that the word *Silesia* was derived from the people called the ELYSIANS. The etymology seems to be strained, and how it is supported does not merit further enquiry.

(*f*) It has been observed (s. ix. note *a*), that the Greeks and Romans amused themselves with a discovery of their own deities in the various objects of superstitious veneration among the barbarous nations, which their arms had overawed or conquered. The Romans worshipped Castor and Pollux, as two stars propitious to mariners: Horace calls them *Fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera;* but it is not probable that the Naharvalians ever heard of the Roman mythology. During a storm they saw meteors and glittering lights on the sails and masts of ships. Considering those ex-

halations as the forerunners of an approaching calm, they deified that phenomenon, and paid their adoration to it. Seneca has described it with exactness: in storms, he says, Castor and Pollux shine like stars on the sails of the vessel, and the mariners then conceive that they are favoured by those deities. *In magnâ tempestate apparent quasi stellæ velo insidentes: adjuvari se tum periclitantes existimant Pollucis et Castoris nomine.* Sen. *Natural. Quæst.* lib. i. s. 1. The Naharvalians, who dwelt near the Baltic, were well acquainted with this *ignis fatuus*, and called it, in their own language, by the name of *Alff*, or *Alp*, which, according to Keysler (see his *Celtic Antiquities*), is still the term among the northern nations for the genii of the mountains. Tacitus, it is most likely, changed the word to ALCIS; but that the Greek and Roman Castor and Pollux entered into the idea of rude barbarians, is a supposition too improbable. The Germans worshipped, as Cæsar says, those objects of sight by which they were benefited; they saw the operations of nature, and thought them the immediate effect of a deity presiding in that department. The Greeks and Romans did the same. When

they found among barbarians a god of war, a god of thunder, or a goddess of love, they found their own divinities, and made their religion universal. The late Dr. Musgrave, in his Dissertation on the Grecian Mythology, was aware of this national vanity, and, accordingly, observes that the Greeks were sagacious enough to find out their own gods in Persia, notwithstanding the known contrariety of the two religions. The Persians, we are told, worshipped JUPITER under the name of OROMASDES; HADES under the name of ARIMANIUS; and VENUS under the name of MITRA. It was the same with respect to the Romans and the Gauls. The many peculiar superstitions of the druids were so totally foreign to all that we know of the Romans, as to preclude every idea of one nation having borrowed from the other. Yet Cæsar does not hesitate to say, that the Gauls worshipped APOLLO, MARS, JUPITER, and MINERVA; meaning, as may be supposed, certain gods corresponding in their attributes to those so denominated by his countrymen. The gods of Scandinavia were in later times consubstantiated, in like manner, with the gods of Latium; but no one will pretend that their WODEN, THOR, and

FRICA, were copies of JUPITER, MERCURY, and VENUS. And yet, when the Goths came to intermix with the Romans, they found resemblance enough between their gods to translate each of those words by the other, and this custom appears so universal, that we have no other way of rendering WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY, into Latin, but by calling them DIES MERCURII, JOVIS, and VENERIS. See Musgrave on the *Grecian Mythology*, p. 13—15. Hence we may conclude, that though Tacitus finds CASTOR and POLLUX among a race of savages bordering on the Baltic, it was, notwithstanding, nothing more than some of the attributes of those mythological deities, whom a gross and ignorant people worshipped under the name of ALFF, or ALP, changed by the Roman author into the word ALCIS. But it is observable, that Tacitus throws from himself what is said in the text of CASTOR and POLLUX, since he adds expressly, that he follows the Roman interpretation: *interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant*. Whoever is desirous to have a clear idea of the German and Scandinavian gods, will find a full account in the *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. ch. 6; as

also in Schedius, *De Diis Germanis*. It is evident in Verstegan's *British Antiquities*, that the German and other northern nations worshipped the Sun and Moon, whence were derived Sunday and Monday; and also TUISTO, WODEN, THOR, FRICA or FREA, and SEATER, called Saturn by the Roman writers; and thence we have Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, formed in regular succession, from the deities above enumerated. In that rude system of theology, the national vanity of the Greeks and Romans found Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and the rest. See this tract, s. ix. note (a).

(g) The custom of painting the body has been in general use among all savage nations, for ornament, as well as terror in the day of battle. Cæsar says, the Britons in general paint themselves with woad, which gives a blue cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. Book v. s. 14. The elder Pliny (b. xxii. s. 1.) mentions the same custom among the Dacians and Sarmatians. It is almost superfluous to say that the Britons, who retired to the hills of Caledonia, were called PICTS, from the custom of painting their bo-

dies and their shields. For an account of the same practice among the tribes of North America, see Creuxius, *Historia Canadensis*, p. 70.

(*h*) The Gothones dwelt near the mouth of the Vistula, in part of Pomerania and the north-west of Poland. If they were not the same as the Goths, who will be mentioned hereafter, they were most probably in alliance with that famous people.

(*i*) The Rugians were situated on the Baltic shore. The town of RUGENWALD and the isle of RUGEN are subsisting memorials of this people and their name. The Lemovians were in the neighbourhood of the Rugians on the coast of the Baltic, near the city of DANTZIC. History has recorded the exploits of the HERULI, who afterwards inhabited the territory of the last-mentioned people, and were the first of the Germans who, under ODOACER, established themselves in Italy; but with regard to the Rugians there are no lights to guide us.

Section XLIV.

(*a*) The Suiones occupied Sweden, and the Danish isles of Fumen, Langland, Zeeland, &c. From them and the Cimbrians issued forth the Norman race, who carried the terror of their arms through several parts of Europe, and at length took possession of the fertile province in France, which derived from those adventurers the present name of Normandy. The GOTHS, the VISIGOTHS, and OSTROGOTHS, overturned the Roman empire, and took the city of Rome, which had vainly promised itself an eternal duration, and boasted of the immovable stone of the capitol: *capitoli immobile saxum.* The laws of the Visigoths are still extant, but they have not the simplicity of the German laws. The SUIONES are said by Tacitus to have dwelt in the ocean; *ipso in oceano.* Scandinavia (the ancient name of SWEDEN and NORWAY) was supposed to be an island. Pliny says, that the Baltic Sea (which he calls CODANUS SINUS) is filled with a number of islands, of which Scandinavia is the largest; but no more than a small portion of it was known to the Romans. Pliny, lib. iv. s. 13.

(*b*) The naval force of the Suiones was for a long time considerable. Their descendants in the eleventh century had the honour of framing the code of nautical laws, which were published at Wisby, the capital city of the isle of Gothland. The North American tribes build their canoes in the same form. The extremities terminate in two sharp points; so that, in order to go backward, the canoe-men have only to change offices. He who remains behind, steers with his oar. All the canoes, the smallest not excepted, carry sail, and with a favourable wind make twenty leagues a day. Charlevoix, letter xii.

(*c*) The love of money is here assigned as the cause of that state of slavery in which the Suiones were content to live. The observation is worthy of Tacitus, who upon this occasion called to mind the good old republic, and knew that the great revolution that happened, was occasioned by a total change of principle; that is, by substituting a passion for riches in the room of ancient virtue. As a proof of the vast wealth of the SUIONES, Adam of Bremen (*Ecclesiastical History*, ch. 233) describes a temple built at Ubsola (now Upsal), not far

from the cities of Sictona and Birca. The temple, he says, is richly adorned with gold, and the people worship the statues of their principal gods. THOR is seated on a couch, with WODEN on one side, and FRICA on the other. Stockholm, the present capital of Sweden, rose out of the ruins of the two ancient cities of Sictona and Birca. The crown among the Suiones is said by the learned to have been hereditary, not elective; and this seems to be fairly inferred from an arbitrary government, that knew no limitations, no uncertain or precarious rule of submission.

Section XLV.

(*a*) The Frozen Ocean, which begins in latitude 81, can scarce be deemed navigable. That this sea was meant by Tacitus, is by no means certain. It is more probable that he had in contemplation the northern extremity of the Baltic Sea, with the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, which are frozen every winter, and, consequently, impracticable to mariners.

(*b*) It is well known that in the northern climates, the sun, in some latitudes, is above the horizon during the four and twenty hours;

in others still more to the north, an entire month, and at the pole full six months. Astronomy was not well understood in the days of Tacitus: hence the idea of the sun emerging out of the sea, and the horses of the god being visible. Tacitus has given a poetical description, like that in Juvenal (sat. xiv. v. 280), which mentions the sun hissing in the Herculean gulf.

Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.

(c) The ancients thought that the ocean was the boundary of nature, and that no land lay beyond it. Thus Curtius, speaking of the Indian Ocean, says, that Nature can proceed no further. *Ne Naturam quidem longius posse procedere.* Lib. ix. s. 28. He afterwards talks of Alexander's entering that sea which Nature designed as the utmost limit of the habitable world. *Licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse Natura.* Lib. ix. s. 8.

(d) The Æstyans inhabited the kingdom of Prussia, Samogitia and Courland, and the palatinate of Livonia. La Bletterie is of opi-

nion that they were called ÆSTYI from the word EST, because they were situated on the eastern side of Germany, on the borders of the Suevian Ocean, or the Baltic Sea. Their language bore an affinity to the British, because the people, lying contiguous to Sarmatia, retained the Scythico-Celtic dialect, which was for a long time in use among the Britons.

(*d*) FREA, or FRICA, was deemed to be the mother of the gods. See *Northern Antiquities*, and s. xi. note (*c*). Brotier says, that vestiges of their symbolic representation are still subsisting in Sweden, where the peasants, in the month of February (the season formerly sacred to FREA), make boars of paste, and use them in superstitious ceremonies. See Eccard, *De Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, tom. i. p. 409.

(*e*) Pliny (b. xxxviii. s. 3) agrees with Tacitus that amber, or *succinum*, was by the Germans called *glessum;* a word latinised from GLESS, or GLASS. He says, that it was found in great quantities in the islands of the northern seas, and that one of those islands, remarkably productive, was known by the

name of *Glessaria*. The Greeks used the word *electrum* for amber, and thence gave to the places that produced that substance the name of ELECTRIDES; but, confounding the VENETI (now the Venetians) with the VENEDI, who dwelt on the borders of Sarmatia, and were the conveyers of amber into Italy, they erroneously supposed that the substance, which they so much admired, was gathered on the banks of the ERIDANUS, now the Po. Adopting that mistake, the poets feigned that the sisters of Phaeton were converted into poplars, and that their tears, distilling through the pores of the trees, formed the concretion, which served to embellish the dress of the Roman ladies.

> Inde fluunt lachrymæ; stillataque sole rigescunt
> De ramis electra novis, quæ lucidus amnis
> Excipit, et nuribus mittit gestanda Latinis.
>
> METAMORPH. lib. ii. v. 364.

Authors make mention of other places, besides the banks of the Po, where amber is gathered; such as the coast of Marseilles, and divers parts of Asia, Africa, and even America; but Hartman, who wrote the *History of the Prussian Amber*, treats all those accounts as fables, and denies *amber* to be found any

where but in the northern countries of Europe, viz. Poland, Silesia, Jutland, Holstein, and Denmark; but most of all in Prussia, where the amber gathered on the coast yields that prince a handsome revenue. See Chambers's *Dictionary*, verbo *Amber*.

(*f*) Naturalists are much divided as to the origin of *amber*, and to what class of bodies it belongs; some referring it to the vegetable, others to the mineral, and some even to the animal kingdom. Its natural history, and its chemical analysis, afford something in favour of each opinion. Some have imagined it a concretion or the tears of birds, or the urine of certain beasts; and others, a congelation formed in the Baltic sea, or in fountains, where it is found swimming like pitch. On the other hand it is supposed by many to be a bitumen trickling into the sea from subterraneous sources, and, when concreted, thrown ashore by the waves. This last opinion seems now to be discarded. Many contend, that it is produced in Prussia by mixing with the vitriolic salts abounding in that country, and, its fluidity being fixed, it congeals into what we call *amber*. The chemists are as much di-

vided as the naturalists: some of them refer it to the class of sulphurs or bitumens, while others contend that it is of the vegetable kind, from its resolving into the same principles with vegetables; viz. water, spirit, salt, and oil. See Chambers's *Dictionary*. To decide between so many contending parties is not the business of these annotations; but that amber is not a mineral or subterraneous substance, may be inferred from the spiders, ants, and bees, and other insects, which are almost universally found in the transparent body. Pope, in his satirical style, has said,

> Pretty, in *amber* to observe the forms
> Of hairs, and straws, and dirt, and grubs, and worms;
> The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there.

If the authority of another poet may be admitted, Martial has removed the wonder. He tells us, in three beautiful epigrams, that amber is a distillation from the branches of the poplar; that in its fluid state it catches various insects, and afterwards, hardening into a solid substance, incloses them in a tomb that enhances their value. The classical reader will, perhaps, be pleased to find Martial's elegant

verses inserted in this place. The first is on a bee inclosed in amber:

Et latet, et lucet Phaëtontide condita gutta,
Ut videatur apis nectare clausa suo:
Dignum tantorum pretium tulit illa laborum,
Credibile est ipsam sic voluisse mori.
Lib. iv. epig. 32.

The second describes a viper caught in the transparent substance, where it has a nobler tomb than Cleopatra.

Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera serpit,
Fluxit in obstantem succina gemma feram.
Quæ dum miratur pingui se rore teneri,
Concreto riguit vincta repente gelu.
Ne tibi regali placeas, Cleopatra, sepulchro,
Vipera si tumulo nobiliore jacet.
Lib. iv. epig. 59.

The third epigram describes an ant entombed in the same manner:

Dum Phaëtonteâ formica vagatur in umbrâ,
Implicuit tenuem succina gutta feram.
Sic modo quæ fuerat vitâ contempta manente,
Funeribus facta est nunc pretiosa suis.
Lib. vi. epig. 15.

Whether Martial had sufficient physical knowledge, may still be matter of doubt; but a late

writer (Formey, of the Academy at Berlin), who pursued his inquiry with unwearied diligence, has concluded, not without probability, that amber is a fluid that oozes from pine and poplar trees.

(g) The Sitones, according to Brotier and others, were the inhabitants of Norway; and since they are mentioned as a people included in the general name of the Suevian nation, an idea may be formed of the vast extent of that prodigious territory, reaching from the Baltic to the Danube. The state of slavery, to which they submitted, is mentioned in the emphatic manner of Tacitus. They degenerated from liberty, because they were content to be slaves in a land of freedom; and they were sunk beneath the usual debasement of servitude, because they endured the galling yoke of a female reign. Tacitus makes that reflection in the true spirit of a Roman republican, who knew that it was the policy of his country, not to suffer the softer sex to intermeddle in any department of the state. The ladies at Rome were, during their whole lives, subject to the authority of their fathers, their husbands, or their brothers. From the expulsion of the

Tarquin family, no title alluding to the rank or employment of the husband, was annexed to the wife. There were no terms in the Latin language to signify *senatress*, *dictatress*, or even *empress*. When the fathers were willing to lavish titles and dignities on Livia, the mother of Tiberius, that politic prince restrained their zeal by reminding them, that it was a state maxim not to be prodigal of honours in favour of women. *Annals*, b. i. s. 14. Freinshemius, who, in his supplement to Livy, has given a description of Germany, is angry with Tacitus for the opinion which so pointedly proscribes a female reign. He says (b. civ. s. 21) that, in the time of Tacitus, Norway was governed by a queen distinguished by her spirit of enterprise. He adds, that there has been a succession of other heroines, whose wisdom, magnanimity, and warlike achievements, the glory of the proudest monarch has not been able to surpass. But Freinshemius, it should be remembered, was historiographer to Christina, Queen of Sweden, and his work is dedicated to his Royal mistress.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) The Peucinians, often known by the

name of Bastarnians, and so called by Pliny, dwelt on the eastern side of Germany, and extended as far as the island now called Piczina, which is formed by the branches of the Danube, near the Pontic Sea. The territory of the Venedians, a contiguous people, lay on the north-east side of Germany, and stretched over a long tract of country as far as the SINUS VENEDICUS, now the gulf of Dantzig. When the German nations burst into Italy, France, and Spain, the Venedians, who were also called WINEDI, settled on vacant lands between the Vistula and the Elbe, and soon after crossed the Danube to plant themselves in Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Carniola, near the Noric Alps. Their language was the Sclavonian, which subsists at this day. The FENNIANS are described by Pliny, who calls their country Eningia, but, as Brotier observes, the better reading seems to be Feningia; now Finland, a province of Sweden.

(*b*) Sarmatia (as has been mentioned s. 1, note *c*) was divided from Germany by the Vistula, and a range of mountains; but still we find that, towards the north, part of the country on the east side of that river was sup-

posed to belong to Germany, and was called GERMANIA TRANSVISTULANA. Tacitus, however, assigns all beyond the Vistula to Sarmatia. Modern geographers, upon the authority of Pliny and other writers, considered the Peucinians and Venedians as German nations, and therefore, in their charts, called their territory by the name of GERMANO-SARMATIA. It is evident that, living beyond the Vistula, they were properly inhabitants of Sarmatia, though their language, their modes of life, and their apparel, clearly demonstrate a German origin.

(c) The Fennians, or, in modern language, the Finlanders, were settled in Scandinavia, which was reckoned part of Germany. The reader will find in Warnefrid's History (*De Gestis Langobard.* lib. v.) an account of the poverty and savage manners of these people, perfectly coinciding with what we are told by Tacitus. "The SCRITOFINNI (for so he calls the Fenni) are surrounded with snow in the midst of summer; and being in point of sagacity almost on a level with the brute creation, they live on the raw flesh of wild animals, and use the hides for their clothing. For the pur-

pose of hunting the wild beasts, they have the art of bending pieces of wood into the shape of a bow, and with these they spring and leap amidst the snows." Brotier sees in this account a resemblance of the snow shoes, or raquets, used by the North American savages. See Charlevoix, let. xiv.

(*d*) Having nothing, they were secure against the violence of men; and they had no reason to dread the vengeance of Heaven. Seneca has a similar sentiment. He says in commendation of poverty, What can be happier than that state, which promises perpetual liberty, without an idea of danger from man, without any thing to fear from the wrath of the gods? *Quanto hoc majus est, quo promittitur perpetua libertas, nullius nec hominis nec Dei timor?* Epist. xvii. Delivered by their extreme poverty from all apprehensions, this rude and simple people had no desires beyond their wretched condition: like Abdalominus the gardener, in Quintus Curtius, they had nothing, and they wanted nothing. *Nihil habenti, nihil defuit.*

The Hellusians and Oxionians, who are

the last people mentioned by Tacitus, are supposed by learned antiquaries to have been inhabitants of Lapland. Nothing more is known of them, than that fame reported them to be an ambiguous mixture of the human countenance and the limbs of wild beasts. What gave birth to those ancient fables was, probably, the dress of the natives, who, in those regions of frost and snow, were covered with the hides of animals, like the Samojedes, and other savage nations near the Frozen Ocean. But to amuse his readers with a fabulous narrative was not the design of such an author as Tacitus. He was not writing a romance. He meant to give, upon the fullest information, an authentic account of a people, whose fierce and unconquerable love of liberty was, as he says himself, more dangerous to the Roman empire than all the pomp and pride of oriental monarchs. He has accordingly left, in his Treatise of the Germans, a faithful picture of society in its wild, uncultivated state. His work, compendious as it is, may be fairly called the most precious monument of antiquity.

Some critics have imagined that the great

author wrote from invention, intending, by a fictitious draught of savage manners, to give a political satire on the manners of the Romans, like the Gulliver of Swift. But in answer to those who, in this instance as well as many others, have suspected the fidelity of the historian, it may be asked, how it has happened, that the manners here delineated are a counterpart of the savage customs of Canada, and other parts of America? The same causes have produced the same effects in both parts of the world. It has been the scope of the foregoing notes to point out the similitude as often as it occurred. The likeness is so striking, that it serves to confirm the account given by Tacitus, and to prove, beyond a doubt, that he drew his colouring from nature, not from the storehouse of a lively imagination. The force of this argument was felt by Dr. Robertson; and he has accordingly formed a comparison between the ancient Germans and the savage tribes of America, which the reader will find, *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 250.

It may be asked, in the second place, how it has happened that the manners of the ancient Germans can be traced with so much cer-

tainty in all the countries of Europe? The answer is obvious. The descendants of those people, when they made their irruption into France, Spain, and Italy, carried with them the manners of their country, and founded laws, which sprung from the same source. The codes still extant, such as the Salic, the Ripuarian, the Burgundian, the Lombard, and many others, evidently bespeak their German origin. The Anglo-Saxon government in this country plainly shows from what soil it sprung. The michel-gemote, or great meeting; the wittena-gemote, or meeting of the wise men; the shires, the hundreds, the composition for homicide, and, above all, the limited authority of the king, as Tacitus expresses it, *nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas*, are manifest proofs of the obligation the people of England are under to their German ancestors for that free constitution, which for so many centuries has stood the shock of civil wars, and, though often tottering on the brink of destruction, still rears its head, the pride of every honest Briton, and the wonder of foreign nations:

——————— ruituraque semper
Stat, mirum! moles.

Sir William Blackstone, who knew how to be profound with ease and elegance, has truly said, If we would investigate the elements of the English laws, the originals should be traced to their fountains; to the customs of the Britons and Germans, as recorded by Cæsar and Tacitus; to the codes of the northern nations, and, more especially, to those of the Saxon princes; but above all, to that inexhaustible reservoir of antiquities, the Feodal Law, or, as Spelman has entitled it, the Law of Nations in our Western Orb. See vol. i. p. 36. The same observation has been made by Vertot with regard to the constitution of the French monarchy, which stood, for a length of time, on the foundation of civil liberty, till the three estates, or general council of the realm, were merged in the supreme court of justice, improperly called a parliament. Vertot has given a compendious view of Tacitus, and, by a curious parallel between the manners of the Franks and those of the ancient Germans, has clearly shown the origin of the French constitution. See three dissertations in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. 4to edit. Those pieces are a just commentary on Tacitus; and, if we add the laws and

NOTES

ON THE

LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

THIS work is supposed by the commentators to have been written before the Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, in the third consulship of the emperor Nerva, and the second of Verginius Rufus, in the year of Rome 850, and of the Christian æra 97. Brotier accedes to this opinion; but the reason which he assigns, does not seem to be satisfactory. He observes that Tacitus, in the third section, mentions the emperor Nerva; but as he does not call him DIVUS NERVA, the deified Nerva, the learned commentator infers that Nerva was still living. This reasoning might have some weight, if we did not read, in section xliv, that it was the ardent wish of

Agricola, that he might live to behold Trajan in the imperial seat. If Nerva was then alive, the wish to see another in his room would have been an awkward compliment to the reigning prince. It is, perhaps, for this reason that Lipsius thinks this very elegant tract was written at the same time with the Manners of the Germans, in the beginning of the emperor Trajan. The question is not very material, since conjecture alone must decide it. The piece itself is admitted to be a masterpiece in the kind. Tacitus was son-in-law to Agricola; and while filial piety breathes through his work, he never departs from the integrity of his own character. He has left an historical monument highly interesting to every Briton, who wishes to know the manners of his ancestors, and the spirit of liberty that from the earliest time distinguished the natives of Britain. "Agricola, as Hume observes, was the general, who finally established the dominion of "the Romans in this island. He governed "it in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and "Domitian. He carried his victorious arms "northward; defeated the Britons in every "encounter, pierced into the forests and the "mountains of Caledonia, reduced every state

"to subjection in the southern parts of the
"island, and chased before him all the men of
"fiercer and more intractable spirits, who
"deemed war and death itself less intolerable
"than servitude under the victors. He de-
"feated them in a decisive action, which they
"fought under Galgacus; and having fixed
"a chain of garrisons between the friths of
"Clyde and Forth, he cut off the ruder and
"more barren parts of the island, and secured
"the Roman province from the incursions of
"the barbarous inhabitants. During these
"military enterprises, he neglected not the
"arts of peace. He introduced laws and civi-
"lity among the Britons; taught them to de-
"sire and raise all the conveniencies of life;
"reconciled them to the Roman language
"and manners; instructed them in letters and
"science; and employed every expedient to
"render those chains, which he had forged, both
"easy and agreeable to them." Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 9. In this passage Mr. Hume has given a summary of the Life of Agricola. It is extended by Tacitus in a style more open than the didactic form of the Essay on the German Manners required, but still with the precision, both in sentiment and diction, pe-

culiar to the author. In rich but subdued colours he gives a striking picture of Agricola, leaving to posterity a portion of history, which it would be in vain to seek in the dry gazette style of Suetonius, or in the page of any writer of that period.

Section I.

(*a*) Injustice to living merit proceeds from a variety of causes; from inattention, ignorance, or envy. We praise the past, and neglect the present. *Veterà extollimus, recentium incuriosi*, says Tacitus, *Annals*, b. ii. s. 88. Velleius Paterculus makes the same remark, and adds the reason. We envy the living, and venerate departed merit; by the former we think ourselves overwhelmed; we edify by the latter. *Præsentia invidia, præterita veneratione prosequimur; et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus.* Lib. ii. s. 92. Before either Tacitus or Paterculus, Horace had expressed the same sentiment:

> Virtutem incolumem odimus,
> Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.
>
> Lib. iii. ode 24.

> Though living virtue we despise;
> When dead, we praise it to the skies.

(*b*) Cornelius Nepos tells us that Chabrias, the Athenian general, when recalled by the violence of the people, did not choose to stay long in the sight of his fellow-citizens, because envy, the common vice of all free and great cities, would be sure to behold rising merit with a malignant eye. *Est enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes sit, et libenter de his detrahant, quos eminere videant altius.* Corn. Nep. *in Chabriâ*, s. 3.

(*c*) Cicero has left a beautiful epistle to his friend Lucceius, earnestly urging him to interweave with his history of Roman affairs a full account of Cicero's consulship, and the various turns of fortune which he met with in consequence of a firm and upright administration. This request, he says, an awkward bashfulness deterred him from making in person: but, separated as they then were, he could speak with confidence; for a letter does not blush. *Coram me tecum eadem hæc agere sæpe conantem deterruit pudor quidam pænè subrusticus; quæ nunc expromam absens audacius: epistola enim non erubescit.* He proceeds to acknowledge his ambition to live

in history; he avows his hopes of obtaining from the remembrance of after-ages a glorious immortality, and even the pleasure of enjoying his posthumous fame in his own lifetime. If his friend should not comply with his wishes, he threatens to undertake the work himself, after the example of many illustrious men, who have written their own history. He is, however, aware that such a performance may be liable to many objections. When a praiseworthy action occurs, the author must speak of himself with reserve and modesty; and, where there happens to be room for censure, he may glide over the passage, or varnish it with art, or pass it by in silence. For this reason, the life of an eminent citizen, written by himself, is not entitled to much credit, and, by consequence, the practice is fallen into disrepute. No man, the critics observe, should be the trumpeter of his own fame. The very public criers, who declared the victors in the gymnastic games, are more modest: they crown the conquerors, and proclaim their names with an audible voice; but when, in their turn, they have gained a victory, they call other criers to their assistance, that they themselves may not be the publishers of their

own fame. *Quod si a te non impetro, hoc est, si qua res te impedierit; cogar fortasse facere, quod nonnulli sæpe reprehendunt; scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo, et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, hæc sunt in hoc genere vitia; et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est, si quid est laudandum; et prætereant, si quid forte reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas; multi denique reprehendant, et dicant verecundiores esse præcones ludorum gymnicorum, qui, cum cæteris coronas imposuerint victoribus, eorumque nomina magnâ voce pronuntiârint, cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem coronâ donentur, alium præconem adhibeant, ne suâ voce ipsi se victores esse prædicent.* CICERO AD FAMILIARES, lib. v. epist. 12.

(*d*) The two persons mentioned in this place, as having written memoirs of their own lives, were men of superior eminence, distinguished as well by their virtues as their abilities. Rutilius was consul A. U. C. 649, before the Christian æra 105. He had served in the wars in Numidia; and in the year of Rome 657, when Mucius Scævola was appointed proconsular governor of Asia Minor,

he was chosen by that virtuous citizen in the rank of lieutenant governor. In the course of their administration, they acquired the love and admiration of the province, by a constant exercise of those virtues, which had been the practice, it may be said the fashion, of the citizens of Rome, but in that period began to decline, yet not so rapidly as to give to distinguished merit the name of singularity. The administration of Scævola was pronounced by the senate a model for the conduct of all future governors. He had completed a thorough reform in the mode of collecting the revenues of the province, and thereby gave umbrage to the Roman knights, who were at that time the managers of all the tributes and imposts paid by foreign nations. From the same order of men commissioners were chosen to hear and determine all complaints for peculation. A charge of that kind could not with any colour be brought against so revered a character as that of Mucius Scævola; but the men, who had been used to profit by extortion and rapine, were determined to wreak their malice on Rutilius, who had co-operated with the proconsul in all his wisest regulations. They resented the good he had done to others as an

injury to themselves. An accusation was framed; and witnesses were suborned. The cause was heard by the Roman knights; and no wonder that before such a tribunal innocence fell a sacrifice. In the number of commissioners who sat in judgement, there was a Roman knight, of the name of Apicius, at that time a famous epicure, supposed to be of the same family with the second of the name, who distinguished himself by his gluttony in the reign of Tiberius. To avoid a sentence of condemnation, Rutilius went into voluntary exile. This did not appease the resentment of the commissioners. They proceeded to judgement, and imposed a fine that greatly exceeded the whole fortune of their devoted victim. Rutilius withdrew to the very province which he was said to have plundered, and there lived in the highest credit, respected by all ranks of men, and honoured by the princes in alliance with Rome. The remainder of his life was a triumph over his enemies. Sylla granted him liberty to return to Rome, but he refused to accept that act of grace. At the breaking out of the civil wars, his friends suggested to him that, in the convulsions of the state, it was probable that the various exiles

would be restored to their country. "No," said Rutilius, "I will never return: I had rather leave my country to blush for the injustice which I have suffered, than be an eye-witness of the horrors of war, and the miseries of a distracted people." During his exile he revised and published the speeches which he had made on different occasions at Rome. He also wrote the history of the Numantian wars, and the memoirs of his own life, to which Tacitus has alluded. Velleius Paterculus calls Rutilius the best man, not only of his own time, but of any age. He exerted himself, says the same historian, in opposition to Tiberius Gracchus, to support the cause of the senate: and yet that very body became his open enemies. He was prosecuted for illegal exactions in the province of Asia, and condemned, to the great grief of the city of Rome. *Quippe eam potestatem nacti equites Gracchanis legibus, cum in multos clarissimos, atque innocentissimos viros sævissent, tum Publium Rutilium, virum non sæculi sui, sed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis, damnaverant. In iis ipsis, quæ pro senatu moliebatur, senatum habuit adversarium.* See

Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 13. Cicero, *De Claris Orat.* s. 115.

Æmilius Scaurus is another instance of that conscious integrity with which an upright citizen could venture to talk of himself. He was consul A. U. C. 639, before the Christian æra 85. He was descended from a patrician family; but, having but a moderate fortune, he owed his elevation to his talents. He bore for many years the honourable title of PRINCE OF THE SENATE; a title which added nothing to his power, but gave him great weight and authority, implying superior merit, and pre-eminence in virtue. Cicero says of him and Rutilius, that, though exercised in the practice of the forum, neither of them could be ranked in the first class of orators. They were not deficient in abilities, but eloquence was not their talent. *Neuter summi oratoris habuit laudem, et uterque in multis causis versatus erat. Quamquam iis quidem non omnino ingenium, sed oratorium ingenium defuit.* Of Scaurus in particular, Cicero adds, that in his speeches there was the wisdom of a statesman, and the commanding gravity of a virtuous citizen; the more persuasive, as he delivered

himself with the air of a man, who was giving his testimony, not with the art of an advocate pleading a cause. His mode of oratory was not calculated for the meridian of the forum, but in debate was wonderfully graceful in a man who was prince of the senate. He spoke with prudence, and his character gave him weight and authority. *In Scauri oratione, sapientis hominis et recti gravitas summa, et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non ut causam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares. Hoc dicendi genus, ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur: ad senatoriam vero sententiam, cujus erat* ILLE PRINCEPS, *vel maximè; significabat enim non prudentiam solùm, sed, quod maximè rem continebat, fidem. De Claris Orat.* s. 111 and 112. The character of Scaurus drawn by Sallust, gives a different idea of that eminent citizen. According to the historian, he preserved the exterior decencies, the surface of virtue, disguising his passions, and artfully concealing his vices; by his birth illustrious, enterprising, factious, fond of power, of riches, and the honours of the state. *Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum; cæterum vitia*

sua callidè occultans. Bell. Jugurth. Delph. edit. p. 73. But the veracity of Sallust is sometimes problematical. His own morals were not the best. He was spiteful to Cicero; he preferred Cæsar to Cato, and was not always listed on the side of virtue. The testimony of two such men as Cicero and Tacitus may fairly be allowed to preponderate against a writer whose integrity is by no means established. Valerius Maximus relates a fact that does honour to the memory of Scaurus: being accused by one Varius of having received a bribe from Mithridates to betray the interest of the commonwealth, he said in his defence; "I appeal to the citizens of Rome, a great majority of whom could not be witnesses of the conduct I pursued, and the honours I acquired; and I will dare shortly to state my case: Varius, a native of Spain, charges Æmilius Scaurus with venality, and says that for a royal bribe he was a traitor to his country: Æmilius Scaurus denies the charge, and declares aloud that such a crime is foreign to his heart. Which of us deserves to be believed?" The magnanimity of the answer excited the general admiration; shouts and acclamations followed, and to appease the

people, the prosecutor desisted from his wild attempt. *Qui cum pro rostris accusaretur, quod a rege Mithridate ob rempublicam prodendam pecuniam accepisset, causam suam ita egit: Audebo vos, quorum major pars honoribus et actis meis interesse non potuit, interrogare: Varius Sucronensis Æmilium Scaurum regiâ mercede corruptum imperium populi Romani prodidisse ait: Æmilius Scaurus huic se affinem esse culpæ negat. Utri creditis? Cujus dicti admiratione populus commotus Varium ab illâ dementissimâ actione pertinaci clamore depulit.* Val. Max. *De Fiduciâ sui*, lib. iii. cap. 7. Scaurus had a son, who degenerated to such a degree of profligacy from his father, that Pliny the elder is in doubt, which was the greatest evil, the proscriptions of Sylla, or the ædileship of Marcus Scaurus. *Cujus nescio an ædilitas maximè prostraverit mores civiles, majusque sit Syllæ malum tanta privigni potentia quam proscriptio tot millium.* Pliny, lib. xxxvi. s. 24. In the passage already cited from Cicero DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS, we are told that there was still extant a collection of orations by Æmilius Scaurus, and his own life in three books, addressed to his friend Lucius Fufidius; a work of value,

which nobody read, while the Cyropædia, or Institution of Cyrus, was in every body's hands: a work, it must be allowed, of great merit, but, excellent as it is, neither so interesting to the Romans, nor superior to the Memoirs of Scaurus. *Hujus et orationes sunt, et tres ad Lucium Fufidium libri scripti de vitâ ipsius actâ, sane utiles, quos nemo legit. At Cyri vitam et disciplinam legunt, præclaram illam quidem, sed neque tam rebus nostris aptam, nec tamen Scauri laudibus anteponendam. De Claris Orat.* s. 112.

(*e*) It has been already mentioned, that Agricola commanded in Britain in the time of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The reign of the last is the evil period intended by Tacitus: see a description of it, *Hist.* b. i. s. 2.

Section II.

(*a*) Arulenus Rusticus was tribune of the people A. U. C. 819. A. D. 66. Being then a young man of spirit, he wished to distinguish himself by an early display of those principles of honour, which marked his conduct through the remainder of his life. He intended by his tribunitian authority to prevent a decree

against Pætus Thrasea. See *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 26. Being prætor, during the short reign of Vitellius, he was sent at the head of an embassy to treat of terms of accommodation with the generals of Vespasian's army, then at the gates of Rome; but neither the rank of ambassador, nor the character of the man, could protect him from the outrages committed by the soldiers. Arulenus Rusticus was wounded in the fray, and his lictor was murdered. *History*, b. iii. s. 80. Pliny the younger makes honourable mention of Arulenus Rusticus: he says to his friend, You well know how I loved and honoured that excellent man. You know by what encouragements he cherished my youth, and what praises he bestowed upon me at that time, to make me afterwards capable of deserving them. *Scis enim quantopere summum illum virum suspexerim dilexerimque: quibus ille adolescentiam meam exhortationibus foverit, quibus etiam laudibus, ut laudandus viderer, effecerit.* Lib. i. ep. 14. It was the misfortune of this eminent citizen to be in favour at the court of Domitian; but between the esteem of a tyrant and his jealousy the partition is thin, and hatred soon succeeds. The mean compliances of a

courtier were foreign to the temper of a man nourished in the stoic school, and animated by the tenets of that proud philosophy. He wrote the life of his friend Pætus Thrasea, and for that offence was condemned to die. Regulus, a man who followed the detestable trade of an informer, undertook the management of the prosecution. Pliny, in a letter to one of his friends, says, Did you ever see a more abject wretch than Regulus has appeared, since the death of Domitian, during whose reign his conduct was no less infamous, though more concealed, than under Nero? He not only promoted the prosecution against Arulenus Rusticus, but exulted at his death; insomuch that he actually recited and published a libel upon his memory, wherein he styles him the *ape of the stoics;* adding that he was stigmatized by the wound he received in the cause of Vitellius. *Vidistine quemquam Marco Regulo timidiorem humilioremque post Domitiani mortem, sub quo non minora flagitia commiserat, quam sub Nerone, sed tectiora? Rustici Aruleni periculum foverat, exultaverat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque, in quo Rusticum insectatur, atque etiam* STOICORUM SIMIAM *appellat. Adji-*

cit Vitelliana cicatrice stigmosum. Agnoscis eloquentiam Reguli! Lib. i. ep. 5. The stigma of the *Vitellian scar*, to which Regulus alluded, was the effect of the wound received by Arulenus Rusticus in the camp of Vespasian's general. Domitian considered him as a sullen republican, the more dangerous as he professed the haughty doctrine of the stoic sect. Not content with taking away his life, he declared open war against philosophy in general, and banished the professors of every denomination out of Italy. Epictetus was in the number. Every liberal art was extinguished, and the manners went to ruin.

Pætus Thrasea, for whose panegyric Arulenus Rusticus suffered death, was a native of Padua. He married the daughter of Cæcina Pætus, by the celebrated Arria, who perished with her husband in the reign of Claudius, and left a splendid proof of conjugal fidelity and heroic fortitude. She not only encouraged her husband to dispatch himself, but set him the example, stabbing herself first, and then presenting the dagger to him, with these words: "Pætus, it gives no pain." Martial has four beautiful lines on the subject:

Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pæto,
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis;
Si qua fides, vulnus, quod feci, non dolet, inquit,
Sed quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet.
MARTIAL, Lib. i. epig. 14.

When the chaste Arria drew the reeking sword
From her own breast, and gave it to her lord,
The wound, she said, believe me, I despise;
I feel that only by which Pætus dies.

Their son-in-law, Pætus Thrasea, was of the stoic school; in sentiment and the whole tenour of his conduct wound up to the highest pitch of that boasted sect. He had the courage to be a virtuous citizen under the tyranny of Nero. Tacitus has made honourable mention of him in sundry places; *Annals*, b. xii. s. 49. b. xiv. s. 12 and 48. Nero at length was determined to cut him off, and in his person to destroy virtue itself. A prosecutor was, accordingly, found; all his praise-worthy actions were summed up, and, by the court logic of the times, stated as so many crimes. It was urged against him, that when Nero's letter, giving an account of the death of Agrippina, was read in the senate, Thrasea rose from his seat, and left the house; that he seldom attended the juvenile sports, instituted by the

emperor; when the fathers were on the point of condemning a poet to death for a copy of verses, he was the author of a milder sentence; and, finally, that he did not assist at the funeral of Poppæa, a new divinity, whom Nero sent to the gods by a kick on the belly. *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 21. He was allowed to choose his own mode of death. Arria, his wife, worthy of her mother of the same name, wanted to share the fate of her husband, but was dissuaded by his advice. Thrasea died with the tranquillity of a philosopher. See the account, *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 34 and 35, and also the *Appendix* to b. xvi. By his wife, Arria, he left a daughter, named FANNIA, who was married to his friend, Helvidius Priscus. Pliny the younger has placed her character in the most amiable light. He describes her emaciated by a fit of illness, in a total decay, with nothing but her spirits to support her, and a vigour of mind worthy of the wife of Helvidius, and the daughter of Thrasea. He adds, She will be, after her decease, a model for all wives, and, perhaps, worthy to be deemed an example of fortitude by the men. The whole letter is in a strain of tender affection, and has all the beauties of style and sentiment that distinguish that elegant author. B. vii. ep. 19.

(*b*) Senecio was a native of Spain, born in the province of Bœtica, where he served the office of quæstor in the reign of Domitian, and never aspired to any higher honour. Not choosing to be a candidate for the magistracy, he was considered as an obstinate republican, hostile to the established government, and a friend to innovation. He undertook the prosecution of Bæbius Massa, who was charged with extortion during his government in Spain. By the appointment of the senate, he had the younger Pliny for his coadjutor in that business. Massa was convicted, and his effects sequestered. Pliny relates the fact, in a letter to his friend Tacitus; and being persuaded that the historical works of such a writer would be immortal, he begs to have a niche in that temple of fame. If, says he, we are solicitous to have our pictures drawn by the best artist, ought we not to desire that our conduct may be described by the ablest historian? *Auguror (nec me fallit augurium) historias tuas immortales futuras, quo magis illis (ingenuè fatebor) inseri cupio. Nam si esse nobis curæ solet, ut facies nostra ab optimo quoque artifice exprimatur, nonne debemus optare, ut operibus nostris similis tui scrip-*

tor prædicatorque contingat? Lib. vii. ep. 33. Tacitus was, probably, writing the history of Domitian, in whose reign Bæbius Massa was condemned. Pliny, as well as Cicero, wished to live in history. Montaigne condemns them both, as instances of immoderate ambition; but let it be remarked, says Melmoth, that the ambition of Pliny will appear far more reasonable than that of Cicero. The latter does not scruple to press his friend, Lucceius, to transgress the rules of history, and to break the bonds of truth in his favour. *Te plane, etiam atque etiam rogo ut et ornes ea vehementius quam fortasse sentis, et leges historiæ negligas, amoriqueque nostro plusculum etiam quam concedit veritas largiaris:* whereas Pliny, with a nobler spirit, expressly declares, that he does not desire Tacitus should heighten the facts, for actions of real worth need only to be set in their true light. *Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honeste factis veritas sufficit.* See Cicero to Lucceius, lib. v. ep. 12; and see Pliny to Tacitus, lib. vii. ep. 33. It does not appear that Pliny incurred any danger for the part he acted against Bæbius Massa; but Senecio, who was the first mover in that business, pro-

voked a number of enemies. He had written the life of Helvidius, and that work gave him the finishing blow. The praise bestowed upon that excellent man inflamed the rage of Domitian. Mettius Carus, a notorious prosecutor of the best men in Rome, stood forth as the accuser of Senecio, who acknowledged himself the author of the book, but urged, in his defence, that he wrote it at the desire of Fannia, the widow of Helvidius. Pliny informs us that Fannia was cited to appear before the senate. The prosecutor, in a tone of menace, asked her, *Did you make such a request?* I DID. *Did you supply him with materials?* I DID SUPPLY HIM. *Was it with the knowledge of your mother Arria?* IT WAS NOT. Throughout the whole of her examination, not a word betrayed the smallest symptom of fear. She had the courage to preserve a copy of the very book, which the senate, overawed by the tyranny of the times, had ordered to be suppressed; and taking care to preserve the history of her husband, she carried with her the cause of her exile. *Nam cum Senecio reus esset, quod de vitâ Helvidii libros composuisset, rogatumque se a Fanniâ in defensione dixisset, quærente mina-*

citer Mettio Caro AN ROGASSET? *respondit,* ROGAVI. *An commentarios scripturo dedisset?* DEDI. *An sciente matre?* NESCIENTE. *Postremo nullam vocem cedentem periculo emisit. Quin etiam illos ipsos libros, quamquam ex necessitate et metu temporum abolitos senatus consulto, servavit, habuit, tulitque in exilium exilii causam.* Lib. vii. epist. 19. This was the third time of her going into exile. She had accompanied her husband twice in the same disgrace, under Nero, and under Vespasian. Her mother, Arria, Thrasea's widow, was banished for a like cause; for the history of Helvidius, written, as already mentioned, by Arulenus Rusticus. During these prosecutions, the senators were held besieged by a party of armed soldiers; they did not dare to utter a sentiment, or even to groan under the tyranny of the times; they were truly, as Pliny describes them, a timid and speechless assembly, where to speak your mind was dangerous; and to declare what you did not think, was the worst state of servitude. *Prospeximus curiam; sed curiam* TREPIDAM *et* ELINGUEM, *cum dicere quod velles, periculosum; quod nolles, miserum esset.* See b. viii. ep. 14. Senecio,

for his praise of Helvidius, was found guilty, and, to glut the cruelty of Domitian, adjudged to death. His work was burnt by the public executioners. For more of Bæbius Massa, and Mettius Carus, see this Tract, s. 45.

Helvidius Priscus, the subject of Senecio's panegyric, was born at Terracina, a municipal town in Italy. He was confirmed in the doctrines of the stoic school by his father-in-law, Pætus Thrasea. His character, drawn by the masterly hand of Tacitus, may be seen, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 5. He acted, at all times, the part of a firm, a virtuous, and independent senator. When Thrasea was doomed to death by Nero, Helvidius was involved in the ruin of his father-in-law, and sent into banishment. See *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 35. After the death of Nero, he returned to Rome, and in the senate delivered a vehement speech against Eprius Marcellus, the chief instrument in the destruction of Thrasea. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 43. Being advanced to the dignity of prætor, he assisted at the laying of the first stone of the capitol, which was then to be rebuilt, A. U. C. 823, of the Christian æra 70. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 53 and 54. In the reign of Vespasian he

was considered as a determined republican, and as such, charged by his enemies with a design to restore the old constitution. Dio Cassius, who often betrays a secret rancour towards eminent characters, represents Helvidius as a violent partisan, adverse to the established government, a declaimer in praise of the old democracy, and often launching out into fierce invectives against Vespasian. Had this picture been copied from the life, it is not probable that two such men as Tacitus and Pliny would have mentioned him in terms of respect little short of veneration. It is true, that he frequently stood in opposition even to Vespasian; another Cato against Cæsar. The emperor was at length so far irritated as to forbid him the senate. Do you mean, said Helvidius, to exclude me for ever? No, replied Vespasian; attend there, if you will, but you must be a silent senator. Then, said Helvidius, you must not call upon me for my opinion; if I am called upon, I shall deliver it with the freedom of an honest man. This discourse so enraged Vespasian, that, forgetting himself, and his character, he threatened Helvidius with death. The intrepid stoic returned the following answer: "I did not say,

"that I am immortal; you may, if you will, "put me to death; in so doing, you will act "YOUR part; and, in dying without fear or "trembling, I shall act MINE." This is recorded by Arrian, in his Memoirs of Epicurus, as an answer worthy of a Roman, and a disciple of the stoic school. His conduct, from the opening of Vespasian's reign, was such as gave umbrage to the court. When all ranks of men went forth to meet the emperor on his arrival in Italy, Helvidius did not salute him by the name of Cæsar, but treated him as if he had been no more than a private man. In the edicts which he issued in his office of prætor, he made no mention of the emperor. Suetonius, *Life of Vesp.* s. 15. These and other circumstances conspired against him. Mucianus, it is reasonable to suppose, inflamed the indignation of the emperor, and, at length, prevailed upon him to abandon Helvidius to the judgement of the senate. He was sent into exile, and soon after followed by an order for his execution. Vespasian, according to Suetonius, dispatched messengers to countermand the sentence; but it was either too late, or the emperor was imposed upon by a false account, that the blow was already struck. In this manner

Helvidius fell a victim. He left a daughter by Fannia, of whom nothing is known; he also left a son, the issue of his first marriage, for a further account of whom, see this Tract, s. 45. The Roman story, says Lord Orrery (*Remarks on Pliny*, b. vii. ep. 19), cannot produce another instance of so illustrious a family, distinguished by a succession equally bright in heroes and heroines, married among themselves, and more closely allied by their virtues than by their marriages.

List of the Family.

CÆCINA PÆTUS married the first ARRIA.

THRASEA PÆTUS married their daughter, the second ARRIA.

HELVIDIUS PRISCUS married FANNIA, the daughter of the second ARRIA.

HELVIDIUS the younger (son of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS by his first wife) married ANTEIA, the daughter of Publius Anteius, who, from his attachment to Agrippina, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of Nero. See *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 14.

Thus stands the genealogy of this distinguished house.

(*c*) The custom of destroying books is of

ancient date, and was chiefly exercised under despotic governments. Before the invention of printing, there was no way of multiplying copies but by the industry of transcribers, and, at that time, the vengeance of men in power might succeed. At present the common hangman may burn one or more copies of a work deservedly condemned to the flames; but the friends of sedition will take care to be provided with a number, and even the curious will give them a place in their cabinets. It has been mentioned in the last note, that Fannia, the widow of Helvidius, carried the memoirs of her husband into exile; and yet those monuments of genius, as Tacitus calls them, have not come down to posterity. It must be admitted, that, where the people live under a constitution so well mixed and balanced, that liberty and property are fully secured, those who are intrusted with the administration are bound by their duty to the public, to put the laws in force, in order to crush the seeds of treason and rebellion. This principle prevailed in the best days of the Roman republic; and accordingly we read in Livy, that, in the second Punic war, when innovations in the religious rites of the Romans were introduced by

tumultuous assemblies in the city of Rome, the ædiles and triumviri were sharply accused by the senate, for not preventing such abuses and disorderly meetings. *Incusati graviter ab senatu ædiles triumvirique capitales, quod non prohiberent.* The same writer adds, that the mischief being found too strong for the ordinary magistrates, the prætor of the city, to whom the business was committed by the fathers, issued his edict, whereby all persons who had in their possession any books, that contained either predictions, forms of prayer, or religious ceremonies, were enjoined to deliver up the same before the next ensuing kalends of April. *Ubi potentius jam esse id malum apparuit, quam ut minores per magistratus sedaretur, Marco Atilio, prætori urbis, negotium ab senatu datum est, ut his religionibus populum liberaret. Is et in concione senatus-consultum recitavit, et edixit, ut quicumque libros vaticinos, precationesve, aut artem sacrificandi conscriptum haberet, eos libros omnes ad se ante kalendas Apriles deferret.* Livy, lib. xxv. s. 1. Under the emperors, when public liberty was extinguished, every thing was turned into the crime of violated majesty. Cremutius Cordus had

praised Brutus in his annals, and called Cassius *the last true Roman*. For this he was obliged to finish his days by a total abstinence from food, and his work was ordered to be burnt by the ædiles. But they remained, says Tacitus, in private hands, and were circulated notwithstanding the prohibition. The historian adds, that nothing so clearly shows the stupidity of the men, who fancy, that by an act of arbitrary power they can prevent the knowledge of after times. Genius gains strength and authority from persecution; and the foreign despots, who have had recourse to the same violent measures, have only succeeded to aggravate their own disgrace, and raise the glory of the writer. *Annals*, b. iv. s. 35. We read in Seneca, that this way of punishing individuals, when nothing in their writings affected the public, was introduced by Augustus in the case of Labienus, a man of genius and an eminent orator. His fame was great, and the applause of the public was rather extorted, than voluntarily given. No man objected to his character, who did not pay a tribute to his talents. Against this man a new punishment was invented; by the contrivance of his enemies all his books were

burnt by the public executioner. Seneca concludes his account of this proceeding with a fine reflection. The policy, he says, of punishing men for their literary merit was altogether new. Happily for the good of mankind, this species of tyranny was not devised before the days of Cicero. What would have been the consequence, if the triumvirate had been able to proscribe the genius of that consummate orator? The gods, in their just dispensations, took care that this method of crushing the powers of the mind, by illegal oppression, should begin at the point of time when all genius ceased to exist. *Res nova et insueta, supplicia de ingeniis sumi. Quid enim futurum fuit, si ingenium Ciceronis triumviris libuisset proscribere? Dii melius, quod eo seculo ista ingeniorum supplicia cœperunt, quo et ingenia desierunt.* Seneca, *Controv.* lib. v. *in præfatione.* Lord Bacon has a beautiful thought on this subject. *The punishing of wits enhances their authority; and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the face of those who seek to tread it out.* The reflection is certainly just; but let it not encourage the schismatics, the seditious incendiaries, and the

clubs instituted for the purposes of anarchy and wild commotion. It is TRUTH, and TRUTH only, that *flies up in the face* of its oppressors. When the sons of faction tell us, *that men in civil society are born equal;* that in this country *we have no constitution;* that the *succession to the crown cannot be limited by king, lords, and commons;* and that the whole body of the people, who, on every demise of the crown, have unequivocally declared their concurrence, *have no power to consent to such a law;* when the abettors of innovation advance these, and other propositions, equally wild and frantic, let them remember, that all good men throughout the nation have trod their doctrines under foot, and that disappointment and contempt must be their portion.

> Hot, envious, noisy, proud, the scribbling fry
> Burn, hiss, and bounce, waste paper, stink, and die.

(*d*) Pliny describes the senate in a state of stupefaction, forgetting almost every thing, the liberal arts, and the rules and privileges of their own order. In such times what useful knowledge could be acquired? The senate was convened to do nothing, or to be plunged in guilt and cruelty. They were either a

laughing-stock, or the instruments of the vilest tyranny. The fathers were involved in the calamities of the times; the citizens of Rome groaned under oppression during a number of years; and, in that dreadful period, their faculties were debased, and the vigour of their minds utterly extinguished. *Quid tunc disci potuit? quid didicisse juvit? cum senatus aut ad otium, aut ad summum nefas vocaretur; et modo ludibrio, modo dolori retentus, nunquam seria, tristia sæpe censeret. Eadem mala jam senatores, jam participes malorum, multos per annos vidimus tulimusque, quibus ingenia nostra, in posterum quoque hebetata, fracta, contusa sunt.* Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. But amidst all this tame resignation, a sense of injuries, however suppressed, was rankling in every breast. Men could not forget the massacre of so many citizens of consular rank, and the banishment of the most illustrious women in Rome. See section xlv. and note (*a*). They groaned under the yoke of bondage, and yet felt, in secret, that liberty was the natural element of a Roman.

Section III.

(*a*) On the death of Domitian, that em-

peror's acts were rescinded, and Nerva began his reign, A. U. C. 849; he adopted Trajan in October or November 850, and died on or about the 21st January, 851. Trajan, from that time, was called Nerva Trajanus. As Nerva is not called DIVUS, that is, the DEIFIED NERVA, Lipsius and most of the commentators have inferred that Nerva was still alive. But how Trajan, in that short time between his adoption and the commencement of his reign, could be said to be every day increasing the public happiness, is not easy to comprehend. It seems more probable that he was emperor of Rome when Tacitus wrote the Life of Agricola, and the compliment paid to him in section xlv. implies that he was then the reigning prince. The words are *In hoc beatissimi sæculi luce principem Trajanum videre*; in this æra of public felicity to see Trajan on the imperial seat. That wish of Agricola would, surely, not have been so openly expressed during the life of another prince. However the fact may be, it is certain that Nerva crowded into his short reign a number of virtues, which were imitated by Trajan, Hadrian, and both the Antonines; a period of ninety years, which may be truly called the golden age of the empire.

(*b*) The public security, SECURITAS PUBLICA, was an inscription on the medals of the times. Though, in the very outset of his reign, Nerva showed himself disposed to favour civil liberty, yet Pliny gives an extraordinary picture of Rome in that very period. The servitude of former times, he says, left the citizens in a total ignorance of all liberal arts, and a gross oblivion of the senatorian laws and privileges. For who is willing to learn what is of no kind of use? It is difficult to retain what you acquire, without constant exercise. The return of liberty found us rude and ill-instructed; and yet, charmed with the novelty of public freedom, we are forced to resolve before we understand. *Priorum temporum servitus, ut aliarum optimarum artium, sic etiam juris senatorii oblivionem quamdam et ignorantiam induxit. Quotus enim quisque tam patiens, ut velit discere quod in usu non sit habiturus? Adde, quod difficile est tenere, quæ acceperis, nisi exerceas. Itaque reducta libertas rudes nos et imperitos deprehendit, cujus dulcedine accensi, cogimur quædam facere, antequam nosse.* Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. This description applies directly to a neighbouring nation. They were intoxicated with the

acquisition of liberty, but did not understand the nature of a free constitution. They were worse than the blind mentioned by Tacitus, and after him by Montesquieu; they built CHALCEDON, while they had BYZANTIUM in their view. The Romans, as we see in Pliny's account, proceeded in a different manner: they employed themselves in the study of their ancient laws, in order to settle a regular government, and their endeavours were seconded by the virtues of Nerva and Trajan.

(c) Fifteen years was the period of Domitian's reign. Tacitus speaks of it with horror, and promises to review the tyranny and abject slavery of those dismal times. It is to be regretted, that such a savage as Domitian has escaped from the pen of Tacitus. Had his work come down to us, we should have seen the tyrant stretched on the rack of history. The memorial of happiness under Nerva and Trajan, which he also promised, was either never finished, or is now unfortunately lost.

Section IV.

(*a*) Forojulium was a colony in Narbonne Gaul, now called FREJUS, or FREJULES, situated at the mouth of the river AGENS, on the Mediterranean, about forty miles north-east of Toulon. It was originally a place of considerable magnificence, as appears in a poem written by MICHAEL HOSPITAL, chancellor of France; in which, after mentioning Forojulium, then reduced to a small city, he describes the ruins of a pompous theatre, the grand arches, the public baths, and the aqueducts. He adds, that the structure at the port was laid in ruins, and where there was formerly a port, it is now a dry shore, with adjacent gardens.

Inde Forum Julii, parvam nunc venimus urbem,
Apparent veteris vestigia magna theatri;
Ingentes arcus, et thermæ, et ductus aquarum;
Apparet moles antiqui diruta portûs;
Atque ubi portus erat, siccum nunc littus, et horti.
Delphin Edition of TACITUS, vol. iv. p. 176.

(*b*) The management of all the foreign revenues was in the hands of the Roman knights. Augustus left the appointment of some of the provinces to the discretion of the

senate, and reserved others for his own nomination. The last were called *procuratores Cæsaris, imperial procurators*, and were either created Roman knights by virtue of their employment, or considered as of equal dignity. The money collected by the officers of the senate was paid into the public treasury (*Ærarium*), and that of the imperial procurators into the FISCUS, or exchequer of the prince. The rapacity of these men may be reckoned among the causes that finally wrought the downfall of the empire. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 60.

(*c*) Seneca has given an admirable character of Agricola's father. If, says he, we need the example of a great and exalted mind, let us imitate Julius Græcinus, that excellent man, whom Caius Cæsar (Caligula) put to death for no other reason, than because he had more virtue than a tyrant could endure. *Si exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur Græcini Julii, viri egregii, quem Caius Cæsar occidit, ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset, quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret.* De Beneficiis, lib. ii. s. 21. He wrote books of husbandry, and his delight in agriculture is

supposed to have given the name of Agricola to his son.

(*d*) Marcus Silanus was highly respected, not only for his birth and rank, but also for his eminent virtues. He had the misfortune of being father-in-law to Caligula. He incurred the hatred of that tyrant by his honest counsels. He enjoyed the privilege of being the first, whose opinion was asked by the consul in the senate; but to deprive him of that honour, Caligula ordered, that, from that time, all of consular dignity should vote according to their seniority. He endeavoured to prevail on Julius Græcinus (mentioned in the last note) to undertake an accusation against Silanus; but not succeeding, he at length took away his life on a frivolous pretence. Though the weather was rough, the tyrant chose to make a little voyage by sea. Silanus, with whom that element did not agree, excused himself from being of the party. This was construed into a crime. Caligula pretended that he staid at Rome, in order to make himself master of the city in case any accident should befall the prince: and for that reason compelled him to cut his

throat with a razor. Crevier's *Emperors*, vol. iii. b. 7.

(*e*) We know nothing of Agricola's mother beyond the excellent character given of her by Tacitus. Like some of the best and noblest of the Roman matrons, she attended to the education of her son, which at Rome was a matter of the first importance. The reader will find the advantages of the maternal care stated at large in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 28.

(*f*) This city (now Marseilles) was founded by a colony of the Phocæans, who carried with them the polished manners and the literature of Greece. Strabo says, the Roman nobility had been used to travel to Athens for their improvement, but of late were content to visit Massilia, or Marseilles. See Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iv. s. 43.

(*g*) Military science, a thorough knowledge of the laws, and the powers of eloquence, were the accomplishments by which a citizen of Rome raised himself to the honours of the magistracy, and the consulship. This was not

only the case during the republic, but continued under the emperors. The man, who devoted himself to the speculations of philosophy, or to a life of literature, could not, by those abstract studies, open his way into the senate. Agricola was aware of this, and therefore relinquished the metaphysical systems, to which he felt himself strongly addicted.

Section V.

(*a*) Suetonius Paulinus was sent by Nero to command in Britain, A. U. 814, and of the Christian æra 61. Of this officer, one of the ablest that Rome produced during the first century of the Christian æra, an ample character is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29. We learn from the elder Pliny, that in the beginning of the reign of Claudius he commanded in Mauritania, and, having defeated the Barbarians in several battles, laid waste the country as far as Mount Atlas. Pliny, lib. v. s. 1. After the death of Galba, he fought on the side of Otho against Vitellius; and being compelled, against his own judgement, to hazard a battle at Bedriacum, he did not dare, after his defeat, to return to his camp, but saved himself by flight. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 44. He af-

terwards patched up a reconciliation with Vitellius. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 60. In Britain he signalized himself by his great military talents; and in that school of war Agricola, then about twenty years old, acquired that experience, which enabled him, in process of time, to reduce the whole island to subjection.

(*b*) Rank in the Roman armies, such as tribune or centurion, was the claim of merit. It was, for that reason, the custom of young men of illustrious families to attend in the train of the general, in order to learn the first rudiments of war, or, in the modern phrase, to *see service*. The young officer lived at head quarters. By learning to obey, he was taught how to command at a future time. He bore some resemblance to what the French have called an *aide de camp*. Suetonius says that Julius Cæsar's first campaign was in Asia, as tent-companion to Marcus Thermus the prætor. *Stipendia prima fecit in Asia, Marci Thermi prætoris contubernio.* Suet. *in Jul. Cæs.* s. 2.

(*c*) There were so many candidates for the rank of tribune, that the general, in order to

divide his favours, often granted those commissions for the term of six months. Thus we see Pliny, in a letter to Sossius, requesting a six months tribuneship for Calvisius, whom he commends in the highest terms. *Hunc rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorem et sibi et avunculo facias.* Lib. iv. ep. 4. It is probable, however, that Agricola's merit obtained a full commission; but he did not avail himself of his preferment to gain his *commeatus*, which Gronovius calls, *jus absentiæ a signis*, the right of being absent from the colours. Those exemptions from duty were often improperly granted, to the great detriment of the service, as we see in the History, b. i. s. 46.

(*d*) While Suetonius was employed in the reduction of the Ise of *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, the chief seat of the Druids, and consequently the centre of superstition, the Britons, taking advantage of his absence, rose in arms; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, attacked the Roman stations, and laid a scene of blood and carnage in every quarter. No less than 70,000 were put to the sword without distinction. Suetonius with his small army marched back through the heart of the coun-

try, to the protection of London, then a flourishing city; but he found, on his arrival, that the place was not tenable. He abandoned it to the merciless fury of the enemy, and it was accordingly reduced to ashes. But this cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle, in which 80,000 Britons are said to have perished. Boadicea put an end to her life by poison. See the account at large, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29, to the end of section 37. In this important scene of military operations, a mind like that of Agricola, young, intent, and ardent, could not fail to prepare himself for that renown, which he was destined to acquire by the complete conquest of the island.

Section VI.

(*a*) The quæstorship was the first office entered upon by those who aspired to the higher magistracies. It might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four. Thus in the *Annals* b. iii. s. 29, we find Tiberius applying to the senate to introduce the eldest son of Germanicus, before he was qualified by his age.

(*b*) Salvius Titianus was the brother of Otho, who, for a short time, was emperor of

Rome. During the competition with Vitellius, he was the commander in chief of his brother's army. His rash counsels hurried on the last decisive action of Bedriacum, where his party was totally ruined. He survived that defeat, and the victor did not think him worthy of his resentment. See more of him, *Hist.* b. i. and ii.

(*c*) The office of tribune owed its origin to a violent dispute between the patricians and plebeians, A. U. C. 260; when the latter, making a defection, could not be reduced to order, till they obtained the privilege of choosing some magistrates out of their own body, for the defence of their liberties, and to ward off all grievances imposed upon them by their superiors. At first two only were elected; three more were added in a short time; and A. U. C. 297, the number increased to ten, which continued ever after. Whoever is conversant in Roman History, will recollect that these new officers, appointed at first as the redressers of grievances, usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased. They were reputed *sacrosancti*, which they confirmed by law; so that it was deemed an act

of impiety to interrupt them when they were speaking. Their interposing in matters debated by the senate was called *intercessio*, and their authority was declared by one word, VETO. The emperors left them little more than the name and shadow of magistracy, by contriving to have the same power vested in themselves: hence they were said to be *tribunitiâ potestate donati*. See *Annals*, b. i. s. 2. Pliny the younger states his opinion of the nature of the office, and says, when he was tribune, he declined to plead in any cause; not thinking it fit, that he, who could command others to be silent, should himself be silenced by an hour-glass. *Deforme arbitrabar hunc, qui jubere posset tacere quemcumque, huic silentium clepsydrâ indici.* Lib. i. ep. 23.

(*d*) The office of prætor was first instituted in the year of Rome 389, to gratify the patrician order with a new dignity, in consideration of their having resigned the consulship to the choice of the people. Livy, b. vii. s. 1. In process of time, eight prætors were chosen annually, and had their separate provinces in the administration of justice. One

had jurisdiction in all private causes between the citizens of Rome; the second decided in all suits between strangers and the inhabitants of Rome. One was called PRÆTOR URBANUS; the other, PRÆTOR PEREGRINUS. Livy, b. xxiv. s. 44, expressly mentions these distinct offices. The other six prætors were to sit in judgement in all criminal matters. The authority of the judge, who presided in civil causes, was called JURISDICTIO: when the proceeding was for crimes and misdemeanors, it took the name of QUÆSTIO: if before an extraordinary judicature, it was then termed COGNITIO. So the matter is accurately explained by Lipsius. But the new magistrate created by Augustus, called the governor of the city, PRÆFECTUS URBIS, soon absorbed, and drew into his own vortex, the whole business of the *police*, and the cognizance of all offences. See *Annals*, b. vi. s. 10 and 11. The senators and patricians, their wives and sons, were cited to appear at the bar of the senate; but in all cases, it was competent to the person accused, to remove the cause before the prince himself, who either heard it in his cabinet, or referred it to the præfect of the city, or else to a board of

special commissioners. Hence the prætorian dignity had little more than the mere shadow of authority. Boetius calls it an empty name, a mere encumbrance on the senatorian rank. *Inane nomen, et senatorii census gravem sarcinam. Consol. Philosoph.* lib. iii. As the prætors drew lots among themselves, and each man took the province assigned to him by chance, we find that the hearing of civil causes, called JURISDICTIO, did not fall to the share of Agricola. For the rest, the prefect of the city, most probably, relieved him from the care of public offences. Hence nothing remained for him, during the whole year of his prætorship, but the exhibition of public spectacles, and the amusement of the populace.

(*e*) Nero was put to death, A. U. 821, of the Christian æra 68. Galba succeeded, but reigned only a few months. Agricola was chosen for the due care of religion, and the protection of the public temples; but the plunder committed by Nero, about three years before his death, could not be redressed. The whole was dissipated in wild profusion. See *Annals*, b. xv. s. 45.

Section VII.

(*a*) This was the year of Rome 822, of Christ 69.

(*b*) INTEMELIUM was a municipal town in the country now called *Vintimiglia*, in the territory of Genoa. It was situated on the Mediterranean. The descent made by a band of adventurers from Otho's fleet, and the havoc and devastation committed by those ferocious warriors, is described by Tacitus, *Hist*. b. ii. s. 12 and 13. Vespasian, it now began to be known, declared himself a candidate for the imperial dignity. The news reached Agricola some time in the month of July, in the above year, 822. *Hist*. b. ii. s. 79.

(*c*) Vespasian remained in Asia and Ægypt, while his generals carried their victorious arms to the city of Rome, and proclaimed him emperor. His son Titus, in the mean time, carried on the siege of Jerusalem. Domitian was at Rome, but too young to conduct the reins of government. Vice and debauchery were more suited to his genius. Mucianus, the confidential minister of Vespasian, arrived

at Rome, and took upon him the whole conduct of the administration. He may be said to have reigned with Vespasian. Antonius was the general who conquered for Vespasian, but Mucianus deprived him of his laurels. See *History*, b. iv; and see the character of Mucianus, *Hist*. b. ii. s. 5.

(*d*) The twentieth legion was, at that time, in Britain; and it is so expressed in the translation, though the text is silent as to that particular. The Romans had three legions in this island, namely, II^a^. *Augusta;* IX^a^. *Hispaniensis;* XX^a^. *Victrix*. The officer to whom Agricola, succeeded, was *Roscius Cælius*, a man of a restless, turbulent disposition, malignant, envious, and always at variance with Trebellius Maximus, the commander in chief. The latter was a *consular legat*, LEGATUS CONSULARIS: Cælius was a *prætorian legat*, LEGATUS PRÆTORIUS. The consular legats were either generals of the army, or governors of provinces, and, for the most part, both at the same time. Wherever they were present, the prætorian legat had no higher trust than the command of a legion. And yet Cælius, by exasperating his general officer,

and inflaming the minds of the soldiers, raised the dissensions of the army to such a pitch, that Trebellius Maximus was obliged to fly from his post, and to abandon the island. *Hist.* b. i. s. 60. Roscius Cælius remained to enjoy his victory. He governed in a tumultuous manner, by violent measures assuming the supreme authority. His legion had been tardy in declaring for Vespasian, and the delay was imputed to the seditious spirit of the commander. Mucianus thought fit to recall him. Agricola went a second time into Britain, and put himself at the head of the legion, which is supposed to have been at that time quartered at *Deva*, now *Chester*. An inscription has been found in the following words: *Deva Leg.* XX. *Victrix*. See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 538.

Section VIII.

(*a*) Vettius Bolanus was sent by Vitellius to command in Britain, after the abdication of Trebellius Maximus. He had served under Corbulo in Armenia, but, according to Tacicitus, does not seem to have profited by the example of so great a master. Mediocrity was his element. And yet Statius, in a poem

to Crispinus, the son of Bolanus, lays out the whole force of his genius to celebrate the warlike achievements of the father. He stuns us with a muster-roll of his virtues, his exploits in the east, and his trophies in Britain. Bolanus, he says, waged war on the banks of the Araxes, and fought to reduce Armenia to subjection under Nero. Corbulo, the commander in chief, admired the ardour of the young officer, and committed to his care the most difficult operations of the campaign.

> ——————————— Ille juventam
> Protinus ingrediens, pharetratum invasit Araxem
> Belliger, indocilemque fero servire Neroni
> Armeniam. Rigidi summam Mavortis agebat
> Corbulo, sed comitem belli, sociumque laborum,
> Ille quoque egregiis multum miratus in armis,
> Bolanum, atque illi curarum asperrima suetus
> Credere, partirique metus.

The poet proceeds to hold up to the son the great example of his father. Learn, he says, from him; you have a family monitor to inspire you with every virtue; let kindred praise excite you to heroic action. The Decii and the Camilli may be pointed out to others. It will be for you to keep your eye on your father; observe with what undaunted fortitude

he advanced as far as Thulé amidst storms and tempests and the rigours of the winter.

> Disce, puer: nec enim externo monitore petendus
> Virtutis tibi pulcher amor; cognata ministret
> Laus animos: aliis Decii reducesque Camilli
> Monstrentur; tu disce patrem, quantusque nigrantem
> Fluctibus occiduis, fessoque Hyperione Thulen
> Intrarit mandata gerens.
>
> STATIUS, SYLV. lib. v. poem. ii.

Unfortunately for the bard, history is silent about all these great exploits; and when history, the intelligencer of antiquity, *nuntia vetustatis*, shows no foundation for this exaggerated praise, the poet must be supposed to have indulged a flight of fancy. Bolanus was recalled; and Cerealis, who conducted the war against Civilis the Batavian chief (See *Hist.* b. iv. s. 71), was sent by Vespasian to command the legions in Britain, A. U. 823; A. D. 70. Agricola, we find, was still serving in Britain.

Section IX.

(*a*) The senators were not, of course, of the patrician order, as appears, *Annals* xi. s. 25, where we see the emperor Claudius adding the oldest of the fathers to the list of patricians;

the families of that rank, created by Romulus and by Brutus, and also those advanced by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, being well nigh extinguished. Vespasian exercised the same authority, and, under his patronage, Agricola rose to the honours of the state.

(*b*) The grand divisions of Gaul have been mentioned in the Manners of the Germans, section i. note (*a*). To that account it may be proper to add, that a subdivision was made by Augustus, distributing the whole country into seven provinces; namely, Narbonne Gaul, Aquitania, the province of Lugdunum, or Lyons, properly Celtic Gaul; Belgic Gaul, and Upper and Lower Germany. These several districts, except Narbonne Gaul, were under the immediate management of the prince. The province of Aquitania was inclosed by the Pyrenean mountains, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Atlantic Ocean.

(*c*) The governors of provinces administered justice not only to the army, but likewise to the inhabitants. In discharging the functions of his station, Agricola took care to have no dispute, no contest, with subordi-

nate officers. Seneca observes, to contend with your superior, is a degree of phrensy; with your equal, something is hazarded; with your inferior, it is a degradation. *Cum superiore contendere, furiosum; cum pari, anceps; cum inferiore, sordidum.*

(*d*) In the year of Rome 830, and of the Christian æra 77, Vespasian was consul, eighth time, with his son Titus, the sixth. On the kalends of July in that year, Brotier says, upon the authority of Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. i. p. 291, that Domitian and Agricola were appointed consuls for the remainder of the year. This practice was first introduced by Augustus, under the plausible pretence of having more frequent opportunities to oblige the illustrious families of Rome, but, in fact, to impair the dignity, and lessen the power of the consuls. The succeeding emperors adopted the same plan of policy; and the mischief went on increasing, till in the reign of Commodus there were no less than five and twenty consuls in one year. During the whole time, the consuls who entered on their office in the beginning of January, gave their name to the whole year. Those who

were made occasionally, called CONSULES SUBROGATI, are seldom mentioned in the FASTI CONSULARES. Hence the difficulty of ascertaining their exact time. Agricola, according to Tillemont, was consul A. D. 77.

Section X.

(*a*) The writers who before Tacitus's time had given a description of Britain, were Julius Cæsar, Livy the celebrated historian, and Fabius Rusticus, the friend of Seneca, often quoted by Tacitus. His works have perished in the general wreck of ancient literature. Livy's account was in book cv.; but we have nothing now remaining except the Epitome, not very well filled up by the Supplement of Freinshemius. A slight knowledge of distant countries was sufficient for the ancient geographers. They never were at a loss for some form or shape, to which they compared the place in question, and then conceived that they had given a true outline or draught of the country: but the accurate maps of modern geographers show how much they were deceived. Pliny the elder informs us, that the original name was Albion, and Sir William Temple gives the etymology of the word.

Albion, he says, was derived from *Alpion; Alp*, in some of the western languages, signifying high lands or hills, as this isle appears to those who approach it from the continent. In Cæsar's time, Britain was the general appellation. Sir William Temple derives the word from *Brith*, the paint with which the inhabitants gave an azure blue to their bodies and their shields. The Romans, he says, called the island *Britannia*, giving a Latin termination to a barbarous name, in the same manner as they did with regard to other countries that fell under their commerce or conquests; such as Mauritania, Aquitania, and other places commonly known. Camden thinks that Britannia was a compound word, from *Brith*, paint, and *Tania*, a term importing region or country. Cæsar's account of a triangular form may be admitted. Taking the whole length from Dover to the Land's End in Cornwall for one side of the triangle, the eastern and the western coasts contract by degrees, and, though not strictly reduced to a point at the northern extremity, it is there sufficiently narrow to justify Cæsar's comparison, and, according to Tacitus, to present the form of a wedge. It is true, that he calls it an island, but he seems

to have had no better authority than the voice of fame. No navigator had, at that time, sailed round the island. The Greeks thought it a large continent. See *Univ. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 68.

(*b*) Cæsar says that the western side extends towards Spain, and that Ireland, about half as large as Britain, lies opposite to that coast. *Vergit ad Hispaniam, atque occidentem solem, quâ ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia. De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. s. 13. The part of Britain, long since called Scotland, was known to the Romans by the name of *Caledonia*, because, says Sir William Temple, the north-east part of Scotland was by the natives called CAL DUN, which signifies hills of hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the Romans gave it the name of *Caledonia;* thus forming an easy and pleasant sound out of what was harsh to such elegant tongues and ears as theirs.

(*c*) An account of this voyage round the island will be found in this Tract, s. 38. Then,

for the first time, the Romans obtained geographical certainty.

(*d*) The *Orcades* (now the *Orkney* Islands) were known by the report of fame in the reign of Claudius. Some historians have ascribed the conquest to that emperor, but for this there does not seem to be sufficient foundation. Flattery was in haste to decorate the prince with laurels unearned. It is true that Pomponius Mela has said that those islands were thirty in number. *Triginta sunt Orcades angustis inter se diductæ spatiis.* Mela, lib. iii. s. 6. Pliny likewise mentions them; but his account of the number shows that he relied on mere report. He says, there are FORTY islands, called the Orcades, all separated by narrow straits. *Sunt autem* xl. *Orcades, modicis inter se discretæ spatiis.* Pliny, lib. iv. s. 16. Had Claudius added those islands to the Roman empire, it is not probable that there would have been a variance, as to the number, among the authors of that day. Eutropius, and Eusebius in his Chronicle, are the authorities upon which Claudius must rely for his fame; but the silence of Tacitus is a strong contradiction to those writers.

(*e*) Much has been said by the Greek and Roman poets of a place in the northern regions, called Thulé; but it is evident they did not all agree in the geographical description. Camden is of opinion that the *Thulé* of Tacitus is one of the *Shetland* islands, which lie to the north of the Orcades, latit. 60. The ancient poets heard of *Thulé*, and made their own use of it, to adorn their verse. To fix the exact spot was not their business. They were masters of every northern latitude, and they could always command ice enough to build their mountains, and snow enough to cover them. From the historians and geographers more accuracy might be expected, but navigation was in its infancy. The Northern Ocean, as Tacitus has observed in the Manners of the Germans, always adverse to mariners, was seldom visited by ships from the Roman world. *Thulé* was, in general, understood to be the most remote land in the northern latitudes, but the exact local situation was not ascertained. Pliny the elder had all the information that diligence could collect, and he knew how to embellish what he heard with all the graces of elegant composition. But still the Northern Ocean was

unexplored. The German Sea, he says, is interspersed with a number of islands, called GLESSARIÆ, and by the Greeks, ELECTRIDÆ, because amber (*electrum*) is found there in considerable quantities. Of these islands, *Thulé* is the most distant; and there, at the summer solstice, when the sun is passing the tropic of Cancer, the inhabitants have no night; and, in like manner, during the winter they see no day, for the space, as is generally supposed, of six months. *Ab adverso in Germanicum mare sparsæ Glessariæ, quas Electridas Græci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum nasceretur. Ultima omnium, quæ memorantur, Thulé; in qua solstitio nullas esse noctes indicavimus, Cancri signum sole transeunte, nullosque contra per brumam dies. Hoc quidem senis mensibus continuis fieri arbitrantur.* Pliny, lib. iv. s. 30. But it is evident that *Shetland* could not be the place intended by Pliny. A night or day of six months is known in more northern latitudes. Procopius, in his History of the Gothic War, book ii. places Thulé in Norway, which was thought by the ancients to be an island. Agricola's fleet might see the coast of Norway at a distance, and, having heard of *Thulé*,

might conclude that they had seen that region of eternal frost and snow. This, or, according to the conjecture of Camden, Shetland, might be the Thulé of Tacitus. That of Pliny was, most probably, Iceland, especially as he says it lay within one day's sail from the Frozen Ocean. *A Thulé unius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatur.* Lib. iv. s. 30. If Iceland was intended by Pliny, the accounts given by navigators must have been very imperfect, since he makes no mention of three volcanos, particularly mount *Hecla*, which, amidst a waste of snow, constantly throws up columns of smoke and fire. See a Discourse *Sur la Navigation de Pythéas à Thulé, Memoirs of the Acad. of Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 436.

(*f*) From vague and uncertain accounts of the Frozen Ocean the ancients might form their idea of a sea in such a thick and concrete state, that the oars could hardly move, and the winds scarcely agitate, such a sluggish mass of water. But the tranquillity of those seas has been long known to be a mere fiction. It is therefore needless to examine the rea-

sons assigned by Tacitus, to account for a phenomenon which does not exist. See what is said of this sea, *Manners of the Germans*, s. 45. What is said of the various inlets, through which the tide forces its way into the heart of the country, is sufficiently warranted by the *Æstuarium Bodotriæ* (the Firth of Forth), by the *Glota* (the Firth of Clyde), and other well known harbours, creeks, bays, and rivers, of Scotland.

Section XI.

(*a*) Through the want of literary records, the history of barbarous nations is generally lost in darkness. When the origin of a people could not be traced, the difficulty was surmounted, by supposing that the soil, by a certain fecundity in those early seasons of the world, produced the race of men. Mother earth, or MATER TELLUS, satisfied the enquiries of the most profound philosophy. The sons of the earth were called *indigenæ aborigines*, or natives of the soil. Men were supposed to spring from the bowels of the earth, from the trunks of trees, and even from rocks. The poets were the philosophers and historians of the age. Horace talks of the human

race issuing out of the earth: *cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris;* and Ovid gives them no other origin. But the age of darkness is past, and the reveries of ignorance have long since vanished. We are now content to be descended from Adam, instead of reckoning rocks and caves for our progenitors. Tacitus judges by a better rule. From certain resemblances of feature, language, and manners; from the size of limb and colour of the hair, he concludes, not without probability, that this island was peopled from Germany, Spain, and Gaul. The government of the country was like that of Gaul, consisting of several nations under different petty princes. Cæsar reckons no less than four in Kent, book v. s. 22. The most considerable tribes, or nations (Caledonia not included), were the *Dumnonii*, in Devonshire and Cornwall; the *Silures*, in Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorgan; the *Ordovices*, in North Wales; the *Trinobantes*, in Middlesex and Essex; the *Cantii*, or people of Kent; the *Iceni*, in Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; and the *Brigantes*, in Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland.

(*b*) The *Caledonians*, and the etymology of the name, have been already mentioned, s. 10, note (*a*).

(*c*) The Silures, as already stated, occupied Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorganshire. They may be called the inhabitants of South Wales. The Iberians were the first inhabitants of Spain, so called from the river *Iberus*, now the *Ebro*.

(*d*) Cæsar tells us that frequent migrations were made from Belgic Gaul into Britain; and that the adventurers, having gained possession by force of arms, employed themselves in cultivating the land, in a climate which they had found more temperate than what they had known in Gaul. *Maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgio transierunt, et bello illato ibi remanserunt; atque agros colere cœperunt. Loca sunt temperatiora quàm in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.* Lib. v. s. 12. The continent, most undoubtedly, was peopled first, and the redundant numbers overflowed into the adjacent isles.

(*e*) The Druids, according to Cæsar's account, believed in the transmigration of souls, and that doctrine they thought had a happy tendency to inspire men with courage, and a contempt of death. They taught their pupils a system of astronomy; they described the various revolutions of the planets, the dimensions of the globe, the operations of nature; they talked with reverence of the immortal gods, and initiated their youth in all their mysteries. *In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios: atque hoc maximè ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de sideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum naturâ, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti tradunt. De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 13. Human sacrifices, as observed in a former note, were part of their superstition. Living bodies were inclosed in large ozier cages, and consumed in the flames. That the same rites and ceremonies were established in Britain, there can be no doubt, since we are told by Cæsar, that the religious system of Gaul was transplanted from Britain; and, even in his time, those who

wished to be perfectly skilled in the druidical doctrines, passed over into this island for instruction. *Disciplina in Britanniâ reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata, esse existimatur. Et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illò, discendi causâ, proficiscuntur. De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 12. The late Mr. Hume has observed, "that no idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conquest, finding it impossible to reconcile those nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, were at last obliged to abolish the druidical system by penal statutes: a violence, which had never, in any other instance, been practised by those tolerating conquerors." Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 5. See Tacitus, *Annals*, book xiv. s. 30.

(*f*) This conformity of languages, Brotier says, still subsists in some parts of Cornwall and of the ancient Armorica, now called Bretagne. It is said, that a dialect of the Welsh is but just extinct in Cornwall.

(*g*) Solinus, speaking of the warlike Bri-

tons, says, when a woman is delivered of a male child, she places the infant's first food on the point of her husband's sword, and inserts it in the little one's mouth; and, offering up her supplications to the gods of her country, devoutly prays, that he may die in war amidst hostile swords and javelins. *Solinus*, chap. 22.

(*h*) The Britons were conquered, in the reign of Claudius, by Aulus Plautius, the first Roman general who landed on the island, since the invasion of Julius Cæsar. Plautius defeated the natives, A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43. Several signal victories were afterwards obtained by Suetonius Paulinus, Petilius Cerealis, and other commanders, insomuch that the southern part of the island was reduced to a Roman province. The Caledonians stood for liberty, till their last decisive action, under Galgacus (see from section 30, to end of section 38), when they retired to their fastnesses in the Highlands.

Section XII.

(*a*) This manner of fighting in chariots calls to mind the practice of heroic times described in the battles of the Iliad. But the

heroes of the poet differed, in their notion of the point of honour, from the British chiefs. With the Greeks and Trojans, the driver of the carriage was the second in rank: the warrior of high renown was the person who fought. Hector had his 'squire to guide the reins, while he displayed his towering plume, and braved every danger. Achilles had his Automedon.

> Automedon and Alcimus prepare
> Th' immortal coursers and the radiant car.
> The charioteer then whirl'd the lash around,
> And swift ascended at one active bound;
> Then bright in heav'nly arms, above his 'squire
> Achilles mounts, and sets the field on fire.
>
> Pope's Iliad, book xix. v. 428.

Virgil in a beautiful picture representing the wars of Troy, in the first Æneid, describes the Trojans flying before Achilles, who pursues with ardour in his warlike car:

> Hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.

In the fifth Iliad Æneas invites Pandarus to join him in the fight:

> Haste, seize the whip, and snatch the guiding rein;
> The warrior's fury let this arm sustain;
> Or, if to combat thy bold heart incline,
> Take thou the spear, the chariot's care be mine.
>
> Pope's Iliad, book v. verse 234.

Among the Britons it was otherwise: the chief warrior drove the chariot, by Cæsar called *esseda*, and by Tacitus *covinus*: see this Tract, s. 35, note (*b*). The British chiefs, as it seems, thought it more honourable to drive the car into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and distinguished themselves by braving every danger. It appears, likewise, that a number of combatants mounted together in the same vehicle, which was not the case in Homer's battles.

(*b*) We read in the Annals, b. xii. s. 36, of Caractacus, king of the Silures; in b. xiv. s. 31, of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni; and s. 35 of Boadicea, his widow, who succeeded to her husband's dominions. For Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, who delivered up Caractacus to the Romans, see *Annals*, b. xii. s. 36, and *Hist.* b. iii. s. 45.

(*c*) The original says, *rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus*. This, translated verbally, imports, *that a meeting is seldom had between two or three cities to repel the common danger*. But the word CIVITAS is rarely

used by the Latin historians for what, in the modern acceptation, is called a city. CIVITAS generally implies a body politic, a people united in civil society, under a settled constitution and a regular frame of laws. Such were the Silures, under Caractacus; the Icenians, under Boadicea; the Brigantes, under Cartismandua: but there is no instance of their acting in concert for their mutual defence.

(*d*) Tacitus, in this place, may be said to be out of his depth. His notions here, as well as in the passage concerning the Suiones in the Manners of the Germans, section 45, hold more of the poet than the philosopher. Astronomy and geography were sciences not sufficiently cultivated in his time. Pliny endeavours more rationally to account for the phænomenon, from the position of the sun at the summer solstice. In Italy, he says, the length of the day is fifteen hours, and in Britain seventeen; the nights in that island being so bright, that, when the sun at the solstice approaches so near the earth as to become vertical, the northern regions have, by consequence, a day of six months, and in the

winter a night of the same length. *In Italiâ quindecim horas; in Britanniâ septemdecim; ubi æstate lucidæ noctes, haud dubiè repromittunt id, quod cogit ratio credi, solstitiâ diebus accedente sole propius verticem mundi, subjecta terræ continuos dies habere senis mensibus, noctesque e diverso ad brumam remoto.* Pliny, lib. ii. s. 75. But long sea voyages were rarely undertaken in Pliny's time, and it is, therefore, no wonder that he wanted due information. He mentions one bold navigator, Pytheas of Marseilles, and upon his authority, says that at Thulé, which lay six days' sail from the northern part of Britain, the day and night were each of them six months long. The same, he adds, was said of the isle of Mona, which was distant from Camelodunum *(Colchester)* about two hundred miles. *Quod fieri in insulâ Thulé, Pytheas Massiliensis scripsit, sex dierum navigatione in septemtrionem a Britanniâ distante. Quidam vero et in Monâ quæ distat a Camelodunо, Britanniæ oppido, circiter ducentis millibus adfirmant.* Pliny, lib. ii. s. 75. If the Thulè of Pytheas was Greenland or Zembla, what is said of the length of days and nights in those islands may be admitted; but the same could not be the case in Britain,

or any British island. The Orkneys lie in latitude 60, or thereabouts; and in the summer, their day is not much more than eighteen hours long. But neither Pliny, nor Tacitus, had a just idea of the figure of the earth, and the vicissitudes of seasons occasioned by the annual motion round the sun. The discovery was reserved for the genius of Sir Isaac Newton. Without being a voyager or traveller, that sublime philosopher founded his calculations on mathematical and scientific principles. As Fontenelle observes, he ascertained the true figure of the earth without stirring out of his elbow-chair. The experiments of Maupertius, and his associates, who in the years 1735 and 1736 measured a degree in Lapland, served to confirm Newton's doctrine; and, from that time, the length of days and nights in all parts of the globe has been scientifically known. Mathematicians have informed us, that the degrees of longitude are not, like those of latitude, always equal, but diminish in proportion as the meridians contract in their approach to the Pole, as may be seen in the common tables, showing the number of miles contained in a degree of longitude, in each parallel of latitude from the Equator to the Pole. In conse-

quence of this knowledge, and the position of the earth in every part of its orbit, astronomers have laid down their tables of the various climates between the equator and the extremity of the north. They have enumerated thirty climates: in the first twenty-four, which terminate between the latitudes 66 and 67, the days increase by half-hours; and in the remaining six, by months. At Spitzbergen, or East Greenland, the day lasts five months, and six at the Pole. Pomponius Mela talks of *Thulé*, but he did not know where to place this island, so as to account for the length of days, which he has described. He says that *Thulé* lies opposite to the coast of the *Belgæ*, and there the nights are dark in winter, but at the summer solstice there is no night at all. *Thulé Belgarum littori opposita est: in eâ noctes per hyemem obscuræ; per solstitium nullæ.* Lib. iii. cap. 6. But that length of days could only happen in the more northern latitudes. When Tacitus says, that the nights, at the extremity of Britain, are so luminous, that the interval between the close and the return of day can scarce be distinguished, this may, perhaps, be admitted; since Lord Mulgrave, in an accurate account

of his Voyage to the Northern Seas, performed in the year 1773, says that on the 12th of June (latitude 65: 28) it was then light enough all night to read upon deck. On the 29th of the same month (latitude 77: 59) the adjacent coast, covered with snow and ice, would have suggested the idea of perpetual winter, had not the mildness of the weather, bright sunshine, and constant day-light, given a cheerfulness and novelty to the whole of that striking and romantic scene. In the month of August (latitude 80, or thereabouts) his lordship observed, that, during the whole time of his being in those latitudes, he never found (though Martin has said otherwise) that the sun at midnight in appearance resembled the moon. His lordship adds, that he saw no difference, in clear weather, between the sun at midnight and any other time, but what arose from a different degree of altitude; the brightness of the light appearing there, as well as elsewhere, to depend on the obliquity of his rays. See the *Voyage*, p. 71.

(*e*) When Tacitus endeavours to assign a reason for the short interval between day and

night, and says, *that the extreme and flat parts of the earth, casting a low shadow, do not elevate the darkness, and night falls beneath the sky and the stars*, it is impossible to strike out any thing like sense from a passage so very embarrassed and obscure. The reader is left to regret that a writer, of such acute discernment on all political and moral subjects, should be obliged, without any principles of astronomy and geography (a science in that age little understood), to offer a vain hypothesis for reason and sound philosophy. Tacitus, it should seem, thought that the earth was one extensive continued surface, and that night was occasioned by the sun's retiring behind high lands and mountains. The form of the globe, its rotation on its own axis, and the various positions in its annual orbit, are mathematical discoveries, which were not known to the Romans.

(*f*) Mines of gold and silver, sufficient to reward the conqueror, were found in Mexico and Peru; but this island never produced a quantity to pay the invader for the destruction of the human species. Cicero says, in one of his letters, It is well known that not a

single grain of silver could be found in the island. *Illud cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illâ insulâ. Ad Attic.* lib. iv. epist. 16. This, however, is contradicted by modern authorities. Camden mentions gold and silver mines in Cumberland, a mine of silver in Flintshire, and of gold in Scotland. See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 692 and 741. The same author, talking of the copper mines in Cumberland, says, that veins of gold and silver were found intermixed with the common ore, and, in the reign of Elizabeth, gave birth to a suit at law between the Earl of Northumberland and another claimant. Doctor Borlase, in his *History of Cornwall*, p. 214, relates, "that so late as the year 1753, several pieces of gold were found in what the miners call *stream tin;* and silver is now got in considerable quantity from several of our lead mines." A curious paper concerning the *gold mines of Scotland* is given by Mr. Pennant in Append. No. X. to his second part of a *Tour in Scotland in* 1772. But still there never was gold and silver enough to be the price of victory. The other metals, such as iron, lead, tin, and copper, are found in abundance at this day.

(g) Suetonius imputes Cæsar's invasion of Britain to his desire of enriching himself with the pearl found in different parts of the coast. *Britanniam petiisse spe margaritarum.* *In Jul. Cæs.* s. 47. Pliny says, it is certain that pearls of an inferior size, and rather discoloured, are produced in Britain; since the Deified Julius wished it to be understood, that the breast-plate which he dedicated to Venus, in the temple of the goddess, was composed of British pearl. *In Britannia parvos atque decolores (uniones) nasci certum est, quoniam Divus Julius thoracem, quem Veneri genitrici in templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intelligi.* Plin. lib. ix. s. 35. The pearls most in request with the ancients were those collected in the Red Sea, the Gulf of Persia, and the Indian Ocean; the next in value were the British, tinged on the surface with a colour resembling gold, but, in general, of a dark hue, and less transparent than the Indian. Camden talks of pearl found in *Caernarvon*, in *Cumberland*, and the British Sea. See his *Britannia*, p. 597, 690, and 752. Mr. Pennant, in his Tour in Scotland, 1769, mentions a considerable pearl fishery out of the fresh water muscle

in the vicinity of Perth, from whence 10,000*l.* worth was sent to London from 1761 to 1769. But when that ingenious traveller visited Scotland, the fishery was almost exhausted. There is a passage in Pliny that shows the esteem in which the Oriental pearl was held at Rome. Pearls, he says, are imported in such quantities from the Arabian Sea, that Rome was annually drained of an immoderate sum by the inhabitants of the East and the peninsula of India. So much do our finery and our women cost us annually! *Verum Arabiæ etiamnum felicius mare est: ex illo namque margaritas mittit; minimâque computatione millies centena sestertia annis omnibus India et Seres, peninsulaque illa imperio nostro adimunt. Tanto nobis deliciæ et fœminæ constant!* Pliny lib. xii. s. 18. This proves what Tacitus says: When so much encouragement was given, the avarice of British merchants would not be deficient. Their pearl, therefore, was of an inferior sort.

Section XIII.

(*a*) Tacitus now proceeds to relate the progress of the Roman arms in Britain, from the first invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar

to the time when Agricola became commander in chief. This, and the preceding account, may by some be called a digression: but, since Agricola subdued the whole island, a description of the country and the inhabitants is a proper introduction to so bright a career of glory. Julius Cæsar, it is well known, made two attempts upon this island; the first A. U. C. 699, and the second in the following year. The plans which his ambition had formed against his own country, did not leave him at leisure to enlarge the Roman empire. After some slight success, he seems to have been glad to withdraw his forces. There is some truth in what Lucan has said: He showed his back to the enemy whom he sought:

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

(b) The moderation or prudence which took place in the councils of Augustus is well known. Content with receiving some petty annual tributes from Britain, that emperor did not choose to involve himself in remote and dangerous wars. It was with him a maxim, that the boundaries of the empire ought not to be enlarged; and in his will,

which after his death was read in the senate, he gave that advice to his successors. See *Annals*, b. i. s. 11. Augustus, says the late Mr. Hume, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars; and being apprehensive lest the same unlimited extent of dominion which had subverted the republic might also overwhelm the empire, he recommended it to his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretence for his inactivity. Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 6. See *Annals*, b. i. 77.

(*c*) Caligula's threatened invasion of Britain ended in an idle and vain parade. History has no scene of folly to compare with it. The German expedition presented a farce to the world, in which the emperor exposed himself to derision. His mock triumph over the Britons was a sequel to the former frolic, but still more absurd and ridiculous. Having written to the senate, to reprimand them for enjoying the pleasures of the circus, while their emperor was exposing himself to the

greatest dangers, he drew up his army on the coast of *Gesoriacum* (now *Boulogne*); and having, with great parade, disposed his *ballistæ* and other warlike engines, he ordered his soldiers to gather the sea shells, and fill their helmets and the skirts of their clothes. These, he said, were the spoils of the ocean, fit to be deposited in the capitol. In memory of this signal victory, he erected a tower, to serve as a light-house for mariners; and by letters to Rome ordered preparations to be made for his triumphal entry, with special directions that it should exceed in magnificence every thing of the kind. The fathers refused to comply, and for their disobedience all were devoted to destruction; but before his bloody purpose could be executed, a conspiracy was formed early in the following year, and Caligula was put to death, A. U. C. 794. A. D. 41. See Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*, s. 46, 47.

(*d*) The Britons, unmolested by the Romans, had enjoyed their liberty near a century, when, in the reign of Claudius, the project of subduing the island was concerted. The most stupid of the emperors was destined to be the conqueror of Britain. A powerful

army was sent from Gaul, under the command of able officers. Vespasian was one of the number; and upon that occasion that officer, as Tacitus expresses it, *showed himself to the Fates.* The southern parts of the island being soon reduced, Claudius resolved to visit his new dominions. He took possession of Camelodunum (*Colchester*), received the submission of several petty kings, and in less than six months returned to Rome, to enjoy the splendour of a triumph, with the additional title of BRITANNICUS. Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, s. 17.

Section XIV.

(*a*) Aulus Plautius was commander in chief of the army sent by Claudius to the invasion of Britain, A. U. C. 796; A. D. 43.

(*b*) An account of Ostorius Scapula and the brilliant success of his arms, is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. s. 31 to 39. He sent Caractacus a prisoner to Rome, A. U. C. 803. From that time he went on in a career of victory for several months; when, in the midst of a war with the Silures, he died worn out with care and fatigue. Camden says,

that in the parish of *Dinder*, near Hereford, the traces of a Roman camp are still to be seen, called OYSTER-HILL, and he supposes the name to be derived from Ostorius, the Roman general. Gibson's *Camden*, p. 580.

(*c*) The Romans had the precaution to establish a strong post, well garrisoned by a body of veterans. This was at *Camulodum*, in the territory of the Trinobantes, now the county of Essex. *Camulodum*, according to Camden, was the town of Malden: Baxter and other antiquarians fix it at Colchester, and that opinion is adopted by most of the commentators.

(*d*) We read in the Annals, that, as soon as the death of Ostorius Scapula was known at Rome, Claudius sent Aulus Didius to succeed to the command. That officer was involved in a war, in favour of Cartismandua against Venusius, her repudiated husband; and, though age and infirmity rendered him inactive, he was enabled by his officers to quell the insurrection. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 40. In this Tract he is called Didius Gallus; perhaps his name was Aulus Didius Gallus.

(e) Veranius was consul A. U. C. 802. *Annals*, b. xii. s. 5.

(f) Suetonius Paulinus has been already mentioned; see this Tract, section 5, note (a); see also *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29. *Hist.* b. i. s. 87. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 23, 32, 60.

(g) It is unnecessary to repeat that MONA is the isle of *Anglesey*. The channel, that separates it from Caernarvon, is so narrow, that Edward I. attempted to throw a bridge over it. It was the asylum of the Druids, and the capital of their religious rites. Suetonius attacked this place, destroyed their altars, and their sacred groves, where they sacrificed human victims. See *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29 to 40. It may be necessary to observe, that the Mona of Cæsar and Tacitus ought not to be confounded. That of Cæsar is *the Isle of Man*, b. v. s. 13. Pliny calls it *Monapia*, b. iv. s. 16. Tacitus always means the isle of Anglesey. Hume observes, that Suetonius, having destroyed the Druids, with their consecrated groves, and triumphed over the religion of the Britons, thought his future progress would be easy in reducing the people

to subjection. Hume, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 8. But Paulinus could not stay to make himself master of the island. He was recalled by the revolt under the conduct of Boudicea. The final reduction of the isle was reserved for Agricola. See this Tract, s. 18.

Section XV.

(*a*) The general revolt of the Britons, and the massacre of the Romans, that followed in consequence of the discontents here painted forth in the strongest colours, are related at large in the *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31 to 38.

(*b*) Instead of their own kings, whose power does not appear to have been sufficiently limited, the Britons now groaned under the oppression of two masters; namely, the governor of the province, and the emperor's procurator. Dio Cassius states those two causes of the insurrection, and adds, as a further incentive, the avarice of Seneca. That philosopher, he says, was a well-practised money-lender, and, being perfectly versed in all the arts of usury, laid out a large sum at exorbitant interest among the natives of Britain. As fast as his money became due, he harassed the province with such unrelenting cruelty,

that the distressed inhabitants were fired with indignation. Such is the account of an historian; but an historian with reason suspected of harbouring secret malignity to the most illustrious characters in Rome.

(*c*) An allusion to the fate of Varus and his legions, which happened in the fortieth year of Augustus, A. U. C. 762; A. D. 9. See *Manners of the Germans*, s. 37, note (*d*). *Annals*, b. i. sections 58, 61, and 62.

(*d*) Paulinus was then employed in the isle of Anglesey.

Section XVI.

(*a*) Boadicea was the daughter of Prasutagus, king of the Icenians: she succeeded to her father's dominions, and, being ignominiously treated by the Romans, headed the revolt, and in the field of action distinguished herself by her martial spirit. *Annals*, b. xiv. The reader, on this occasion, will not forget the late Mr. Glover's excellent tragedy, entitled Boadicea; a piece written in the true style of dramatic poetry; without the luscious sweetness of Rowe; yet elegant, strong, and vigorous. If the last act had been constructed

with art, so as to raise expectation, and produce an unforeseen catastrophe, the play would still retain its place in the theatre, inferior to Shakspeare only.

(*b*) On the first intelligence of the revolt, and the dreadful slaughter that followed, Suetonius Paulinus abandoned the isle of Anglesey, and showed at once his conduct and his valour. See *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31 to 38.

(*c*) Petronius Turpilianus succeeded to the government of Britain, A. U. C. 814, having just then closed the year of his consulship. Tacitus informs us, that Suetonius, having lost a few ships on the coast in a gale of wind, was, under that pretence, recalled by order of Nero. Turpilianus undertook no warlike enterprise, content to varnish his own inactivity with the name of peace. *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 39.

(*d*) The account of Trebellius Maximus, given by Tacitus in his History, differs a little from what is related in the passage before us. Being at variance with Roscius Cælius, an officer of a turbulent spirit, he was obliged to fly to Vitellius for protection, A. U. C. 822, A. D. 69. *Hist*. b. i. s. 60.

(*e*) Tacitus informs us that Trebellius Maximus, was not graciously received by Vitellius, who was then on his way from Lyons into Italy. Vettius Bolanus, a follower in the train of Vitellius, was appointed governor of Britain, A. U. C. 822. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 65. We are told in this Tract, s. 8, that Agricola served in Britain under Bolanus, but repressed his military ardour, lest he should appear desirous of rising superior to his general. In the passage before us, Bolanus seems to have passed his time in indolence; inactive against the enemy, and without authority in his camp. The adulation of Statius, cited in note (*a*), sect. 8, must, therefore, appear the more surprising. It is among the many instances, which show that poets excel most in fiction. There is still another passage in the poem already quoted, which leaves all truth at a distance. The poem is addressed to the son of Bolanus: the author asks him, "What a scene of glory "will be found in Caledonia, when an old in-"habitant of that ferocious island tells you, "Here your father gave his commands; on "yonder turf he harangued the legions Do "you see those watch-towers, and those strong-"built forts? Your father erected them, and

"drew these lines of circumvallation. Those "trophies and those darts were by him dedi- "cated to the god of war. The inscriptions "are still legible. Behold this breast-plate; "your father seized it from a British king."

Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos!
Cum tibi longævus referet trucis incola terræ,
Hic suetus dare jura parens; hoc cespite turmas
Affari: nitidas speculas, castellaque longe
Aspicis? Ille dedit, cinxitque hæc mœnia fossâ:
Belligeris hæc dona deis, hæc tela dicavit.
Cernis adhuc titulos; hunc ipse vacantibus armis
Induit; hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.

STATIUS, SYLV. lib. v. 142.

When we find from history, that not one word of all this is true, we have only to regret, that a fine poet was obliged to prostitute his pen. Statius gave public recitals of his poems for profit. Juvenal says,

Haud tamen invideas vati, quem pulpita pascunt.

JUVENAL, Sat. vi.

Section XVII.

(*a*) Petilius Cerealis served, at first, in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 32. He fought afterwards on the

side of Vespasian against Vitellius, *Hist.* iii. s. 59. He also commanded the legions in the Lower Germany, and, after his victory over Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, was sent by Vespasian to conduct the affairs of Britain, A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70.

(*b*) The Brigantes, as mentioned in a former note, inhabited the counties of York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire.

(*c*) Julius Frontinus had the chief command in Britain, A. U. C. 826. His treatises of *Stratagems* in four books, and another concerning the aqueducts of Rome, are said by *Brotier* and *La Bletterie*, to be still extant. He was one of the most eminent men of the age in which he lived; a lawyer of profound knowledge; a soldier formed both by theory and experience; and, above all, a man not more distinguished by his talents than his virtues. He died in the reign of Vespasian; and Pliny the consul says, he desired, by his last directions, that no monument should be raised to his memory, because, he said, it is a superfluous expence. Men will remember

me, if by my conduct in life I have deserved it. *Impensa monumenti supervacua est. Memoria nostri durabit, si vitâ meruimus.* Pliny, lib. ix. epist. 19.

(*d*) The subjugation of the Silures, a fierce and obstinate enemy, gave the Romans quiet possession of the south of Britain. It will not be improper, in this place, to state in one view, and in regular succession, the several generals who commanded in Britain, from the first enterprise of Claudius, to the arrival of Agricola, who had the glory of subduing this island.

		A. U. C.
1.	Aulus Plautius, sent by Claudius	796
2.	Ostorius Scapula, sent by Claudius	803
3.	Aulus Didius, by Claudius	804
4.	Quintus Veranius, by Claudius	805
5.	Suetonius Paulinus, by Nero	814
6.	Petronius Turpilianus, by Nero	815
7.	Trebellius Maximus, by Nero	816
8.	Vettius Bolanus, by Vitellius	822
9.	Petilius Cerealis, by Vespasian	824
10.	Julius Frontinus, by Vespasian	826
11.	Cnæus Julius Agricola, by Vespasian	831

Section XVIII.

(*a*) Our author hitherto, like a skilful biographer, has laid himself out to prepare the theatre of war, in which Agricola was to make so conspicuous a figure. His introduction is intimately connected with the ensuing narrative. From this place Agricola becomes the grand object of attention. He arrived in Britain in the summer, A. U. C. 831, A. D. 78.

(*b*) The Ordovices inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery, in North Wales.

(*c*) Suetonius Paulinus had conquered Anglesey; but the insurrection of the Britons, under Boadicea, did not leave him time to secure possession. As Agricola learned his first rudiments of war under that commander, he was, probably, engaged in the first invasion of the island. Having entirely subdued the Ordovicians, he formed a resolution to retake the place, which had been snatched out of the conqueror's hands. Mr. Pennant mentions a pass into the vale of Clwyd, in the parish

of Llanarmon, which, he says, is still called *Bwlch Agrikle*, probably from having been occupied by Agricola in his way to the isle of Mona. The invasion by Suetonius was seventeen years before the final reduction of the place under the conduct of Agricola.

(*d*) The elder Pliny calls the laurel the messenger of joy and victory, being always affixed by the Roman generals to their letters of dispatch after success against the enemy, and also to the spears and javelins of the soldiers. *Laurus Romanis præcipuè lætitiæ victoriarumque nuntia additur literis, et militum lanceis pilisque.* Pliny, lib. xv. c. 30. Persius, the satirist, meaning to sneer at Caligula's mock triumph over the Germans, informs us that the emperor sent an account of his pretended victory in a laurelled letter.

O bone, num ignoras? Missa est a Cæsare laurus
Insignem ob cladem Germanæ publs.

PERSIUS, Sat. vi. v. 48.

Section XIX.

(*a*) Suetonius gives a similar account of Julius Cæsar. That great commander neither took notice of all the faults committed by

his soldiers, nor proportioned the punishment to the nature of every offence. Desertion and mutiny were objects of his strict enquiry, and were sure to meet condign punishment. In other cases, he chose rather to connive, than know too much. *Delicta neque observabat omnia, neque pro modo exequebatur; sed desertorum et seditiosorum et inquisitor et punitor acerrimus, connivebat in cæteris.* Suet. *in Jul. Cæs.* s. 67.

(*b*) Brotier reads *frumenti et tributorum auctionem*, and understands an *increase of tributes.* Other editions have *exactionem*, meaning the severity with which they were exacted. It may be doubted whether the word *auctio* is ever used by the Latin writers for augmentation. In general it implies what is understood at present by an auction, and so the word is used by Juvenal; *commissa quod auctio vendit.* Some of the manuscripts in the Vatican are said to have *exactionem*, and that sense has been adopted in the translation.

(*c*) La Bletterie has a note which throws great light on this whole passage, relative to the tributes and the collectors. In the first

place, each province paid to the Romans a tribute of corn, which, in general, was paid in kind. In those provinces which had voluntarily submitted to the dominion of Rome, the farmer delivered the tenth part of his crop. This was what in modern phrase is called *tythe corn, frumentum decumanum.* Secondly, in the conquered provinces, such as Britain, the Romans exacted a gross quantity, fixing the bushel at a stated rate. This was called *frumentum stipendiarium.* Thirdly, besides those two modes of collecting, it was further expected that the inhabitants of the several provinces should furnish, at a settled price, whatever was required for the use of government: this was called purchased corn, *frumentum emptum.* Fourthly, the provinces were further charged with a supply for the use of the proconsul, or governor; but the price was arbitrary, at the will and pleasure of the governor himself. This was not always paid in kind. A composition was made in money, and this was called corn at a valuation, *frumentum æstimatum.* Some of the provinces belonged immediately to the emperor; others were considered as the property of the state, and were, therefore, left to the manage-

ment of the senate. In the imperial provinces, the tribute was carried to the fiscus, or the exchequer of the emperor; in the senatorian provinces, the levies belonged to the public, and were carried into the *ærarium*, the treasury of the senate. In the various modes of collecting the several imposts, gross abuses were often practised. As soon as the farmer carried in his crop, the revenue officers locked up his granary, and, till the tribute was discharged, allowed him no access to his own stock. He wished to have the business finally adjusted, but the collector was not at leisure. The farmer languished at the door of his barn, pining for the use of his property; but that liberty was not granted, till with money, or an additional quantity of corn, he was obliged to bribe the officer in order to get the account settled. In this manner he bought his own, and was afterwards compelled, at the requisition of the governor, to sell it at an inferior price. There was still another grievance: the farmer, who lived at a distance from the quarters of the legions, was ordered to bring in his corn for the use of the army, and to deliver it on the spot assigned. The length of way, and the expence of the con-

veyance, obliged the natives to compound with the officers, who had the iniquity to enrich themselves by this mode of plunder. Whoever has a mind to see the exactions practised by the collectors of the Roman revenue, will find them stated at large in Cicero's third oration against Verres. We there read of an edict whereby it was ordered, that no man should carry his corn to the granary, till he had made his agreement with the collector. The consequence was, that the officer prescribed his own terms; and the impatience of the farmer was sure to submit. *Exoritur peculiare edictum repentinum, ne quis frumentum de areâ tolleret antea, quam cum decumano pactus esset. Satis hæc magna vis ad iniquè paciscendum: malo enim plus dare, quam non mature ex areâ tollere. In Verrem*, lib. iii. num. 36, 37. To state all the iniquities of the officers would lead to a great length. They are painted forth in glaring colours by the Roman orator; and if the collectors in Tacitus' time did not improve upon the example left by Verres, there can be no doubt but they practised all the iniquities of that notorious plunderer.

Section XX.

(*a*) This was the second summer after Agricola arrived in Britain, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Vespasian died this year on the 24th of June: Agricola, from that time, continued to command in Britain during the reign of Titus.

(*b*) Many vestiges of Roman camps are still to be seen in various parts of England. Two, which were probably raised by Agricola, will be mentioned in the next note.

(*c*) Agricola, as appears from all circumstances, marched his army from Anglesey, which had surrendered to his army, through North Wales, on his way to Caledonia. Tacitus does not directly say what road he pursued. This, however, is made sufficiently clear by Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, or his Journey through most parts of Scotland. He shows, in the first place, that the march in the second summer was as far as the Frith of Edinburgh, as it corresponds with his penetrating as far as the *Tay* in the third campaign. This is rendered still

more evident by the æstuaries, or wide mouths of rivers, at the flood resembling arms of the sea, which Agricola passed after sounding, the fordable places. Those firths, Gordon observes, must be the *Dee* near Chester, the arm of the sea near Liverpool, *Ribble*, and the *Solloway Firth*, there being no other firths between *Anglesey* and *Scotland*. Gordon produces another reason to prove that the march was on the western side of England, namely, the encampments, the vestiges of which are still to be seen in the county of Annandale, and the neighbouring counties; the first at a place called *Burnswork Hill*, near the road from *Carlisle* to *Moffat*; the second, about a quarter of a mile from the kirk of *Middleby*, on the duke of Queensbury's estate. These two camps are accurately described by Gordon; and from all these vestiges of Roman works he infers, that Agricola's march was through the valley of *Dumfries*, every other road being impracticable for an army. The reader is referred to Gordon's elaborate argument, which he will find in the Itinerary, chap. ii. That learned antiquarian has the merit of explaining what the laconic manner of Tacitus has left in some obscurity. His

judicious observations will show that the march of the Roman army was through *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, and *Cumberland*, into *Annandale* in Scotland, and thence as far as *Edinburgh*; and that the whole country, as far as the isthmus between the firths of *Forth* and *Clyde*, was awed and held in check, during the following winter, by the victorious arms of a general, who made such a rapid progress, and disposed his forts and garrisons with so much judgement, that the enemy found them impregnable. Gordon assures us, that on the neck of land which separates the Forth and the Clyde, there are more remains of Roman works than in any other part of Scotland.

Section XXI.

(*a*) Gordon, in his Itinerary, has described the remaining vestiges of a number of forts on the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, and also of a town, called CAMELON, which, he says, is evidently a Roman work; the ruins of ancient houses are still to be seen. His third chapter is an elaborate dissertation on a Roman temple, now called Arthur's Oon, or Oven, near the Forth; which, he contends,

was built by Agricola, during the winter after his second campaign in Scotland. Hector Boethius is of opinion, that this round edifice was built by Vespasian, when he served in Britain; and that Aulus Plautius died in the town of *Comelon* in Scotland, which he calls *Camelodunum*. Buchanan explodes this opinion, and, upon the best conjecture he could form, concludes that *Arthur's Oon* was a structure dedicated to the god *Terminus*. But the conjectures of antiquarians, often ingenious, are too often uncertain. It must, however, be said, amidst the clash of opinions, that Gordon seems to have probability on his side, especially as we find in Tacitus, that Agricola, to allure the people from their barberous manners, taught them to build houses, where they might begin to taste the pleasures of civilization. The state of man in savage life, and the policy of softening the uncultivated mind by the introduction of liberal arts, is finely touched by Cicero in his oration for Sextius; and Plutarch says, that the glory of Alexander did not consist in a number of camels loaded with gold: he either persuaded or compelled the savage tribes of Asia to unite in society, and live under the protection of laws; that

was his true glory; and those who escaped his conquering sword, were not so happy as the vanquished. There was nothing to reclaim the former from barbarity; and the latter, even against their will, were tamed and polished.

(b) La Bletterie, in his note on this passage, is alarmed for the honour of his country. He doubts whether Agricola was a competent judge; in all events, he appeals from the sentence. He wishes, however, that the palm of genius may be contended for by both nations; and that the rivalship between them, which has produced tragic events and scenes of blood, may, for the future, be changed into a literary contest, to enlighten the rest of Europe with sound philosophy, not with vain metaphysics, which, under the specious pretence of thinking profoundly, tend to nothing but the subversion of government and religion. La Bletterie does not disguise his national partiality: he will have it that learning passed from France into this country. In support of his position, he quotes the threadbare verse;

Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Brotier is above the littleness of national prejudice. He says, it is wonderful that Agricola, in rude and savage times, should be able to foretel the genius of a country, which has since produced Bacon, Milton, and Newton, not to mention others of great and illustrious talents.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Agricola's third year was A. U. C. 833; A. D. 80.

(*b*) The river *Tay* issues out of *Loch-Tay* in *Breadalbin*, and running south-east, passes the town of Perth, and falls into the German Ocean at Dundee, where it is called the Firth of Tay. Agricola's conquests were, of course, in Fifeshire and in Perthshire.

(*c*) The principal fort built by Agricola was at Ardoch in Perthshire, situated so as to command the entrances into two valleys, *Strathallan* and *Strathearn*. A description and plan of its remains, still in good preservation, are given by Mr. Pennant in his *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, part ii. p. 101. This fort, commanding two extensive valleys, seems to prove what Tacitus says, viz. that no general

showed greater skill in the choice of advantageous situations.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Agricola's fourth campaign was A. U. C. 834; A. D. 81. Titus died this year, on the thirteenth of September, in the forty-first year of his age; having merited, in a short reign of little more than two years, the love of the Roman people, and the applause of posterity. From the death of that lamented emperor, Agricola *was fallen on evil days*. He still pursued his conquests in Britain; but his virtues and his fame in arms rendered him obnoxious to the jealousy of Domitian, who beheld rising merit with a malignant eye.

(*b*) *Glota* or *Clota*, and *Bodotria*, were the names given by Ptolemy to those famous æstuaries, or arms of the sea. The *Clota* is now called the Clyde, which rises in *Annandale*, and, after a wide circuit, falls into the gulf of Dumbarton, on the western side of Scotland, opposite to the isle of Bute. The *Bodotria* of Ptolemy is the river Forth, which rises in *Monteith*, and, after describing a number of beautiful meanders, discharges itself,

near Edinburgh, into an arm of the German Sea, called the *Firth of Forth*.

(*c*) The space between the Firth of Forth and the Clyde is not more than thirty miles over. Gordon's Itinerary gives a description of the ruins of a number of forts in a regular chain, within a small distance from each other, beginning at Dumbarton, and thence eastward to Arthur's Oven near the Firth of Forth. See the *Itinerary*, p. 20, 21.

(*d*) By means of these well-situated and well-guarded stations the Caledonians were confined, in that northern part of the island, as it were in a peninsula. On the same neck of land, Lollius Urbicus, governor of Britain in the reign of Antoninus Pius, erected a wall or rampart, extending from Old Kirkpatrick, on the Clyde, to the borders of the Forth; a space of thirty miles, defended by a chain of forts, all supposed to have been built on the site chosen by Agricola. Some vestiges of the wall are still to be seen. It is usually called Graham's Dike. Guthrie, in his Geographical Grammar, says, one of the greatest improvements for inland navigation is

now (1771) carrying on, at a considerable expence, by a society of public-spirited gentlemen, for the purpose of joining the rivers Forth and Clyde; by which a communication will be opened between the east and west seas, to the immense advantage of the whole kingdom, as must be evident to every person who shall throw his eye upon the map of Scotland. *Geographical Grammar*, 4to edit.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Agricola's fifth campaign was in the summer A. U. C. 835; A. D. 82.

(*b*) We are now to see Agricola penetrating further into North Britain, but the laconic style of the author does not distinctly tell us on which side of the country the attempt was made. From the sequel, however, it is clear, that having driven the Caledonians beyond the isthmus between the Clyde and the Forth as it were into another island, the Roman general was determined to march against the nations to the north of the Clyde, in order to spread a general alarm, and make an impression on the west side of the country. For that purpose, Tacitus says, he crossed the

æstuary, meaning the gulf of Dumbarton. The commentators are much divided about the construction of the words, *nave primâ transgressus; he sailed in the first ship.* Some of them will have it, that he embarked in the first ship of his fleet: but we have no account of a fleet in readiness for this expedition. The translation, therefore, has adopted the most natural and obvious sense. Agricola crossed the æstuary of the Clyde, in the first Roman vessel that was ever seen in those parts. His army, in the mean time, marched over the isthmus, probably near Dumbarton, and, making a rapid progress through Argyleshire, advanced to the sea-coast opposite to Ireland. It appears in the following section, that Agricola had no fleet till he ordered ships to be got in readiness for his sixth campaign.

(c) The terms in which La Bletterie expresses himself in his notes on this section, one might imagine were dictated in the heat of the late contest between Ireland and Great Britain. The French author says, "Ireland has more harbours and more convenient ports than any other country in Europe. England has but a small number. Ireland, if she could

shake off the British yoke, and form an independent state, would ruin the British commerce; but, to her misfortune, England is too well convinced of this truth." The ruin of Britain would undoubtedly be agreeable to a French patriot; but the man who in his heart is a friend to both countries, may be allowed to express his wish, that, upon proper terms, both islands may be always united in interest. The combined valour of the two kingdoms will be, at all times, an overmatch for the maritime powers of Europe. Some of the historians of Ireland seem to be much offended with Tacitus, on account of the opinion here advanced; namely, that one legion, with a body of auxiliaries, would be sufficient for the conquest of Ireland: and perhaps they are right. Courage has been, in every age, the distinguishing quality of that country. The Roman general would have found a people no less fierce and independent than the Caledonians; and it is probable, that, among the chieftains, there would have been many a GALGACUS to stand forth in the cause of liberty.

Section XXV.

(*a*) Agricola's sixth campaign was A. U. C. 836; A. D. 83; the second year of Domitian's reign.

(*b*) Agricola, in the third year of his expeditions, had penetrated, north of the Forth, as far as the Firth of Tay (see section xxii.); but we are told by Tacitus, that the country was over-run, not conquered; nor was it sufficiently explored. And we find, that Agricola, dreading an insurrection of all the nations beyond the Firth of Forth, judged it right to man a fleet, in order to search the coasts and countries on the eastern side of Caledonia. Gordon, in his Itinerary, is of opinion, since no mention is made in the text of the return of those ships, that, after their survey of the coast, they remained either in some road or harbour in Fifeshire, or within the Firth of Tay, being the most commodious shelter from tempestuous weather. The war was now carried on in the counties of *Fife*, *Perth*, and *Angus*, if not farther.

(*c*) Traces of these forts and castles are still extant in *Fifeshire*, *Perth*, and *Strathearn*.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) This battle, Gordon the antiquarian thinks, was fought in the county of *Fife*; and he draws his conclusion from the appearance of a Roman camp still to be seen at a place called *Loch-Ore*, about two miles from *Loch-Leven*. The form of this camp, Gordon says, is nearest to a square, but in many parts so levelled and defaced, that he could not make a perfect draught of it. To the south of this camp there is a large morass, in which are daily dug up the roots of different trees, in such abundance as serves to show that it was formerly a great wood; which renders it highly probable that the ninth legion was attacked in that very camp, since Tacitus tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not covered the flight of the Caledonians, the victory obtained by the Romans would have ended the war. We are further told, that near this place there is a small village, called the *Blair*; a word, in the old language, signifying *locus pugnæ*; the spot where a battle was fought. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 36.

(*b*) There were four gates to a Roman

camp; one on each side of the circumference, accessible for the use of the baggage-horses, and wide in case of a sally. The gates had their distinct names; *Prætoria*, *Decumana*, *Dextra*, and *Sinistra*.

(*c*) The marshes and forests that protected the Caledonians were, most probably, *Loch-Leven*, and the woods that grew around it, as mentioned in this section, note (*a*).

Section XXVII.

(*a*) All public resolutions were formed, among barbarians, at their carousing festivals in religious groves. It was in this manner that CIVILIS drew the Batavians and the Germans into a league against the Romans. See Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. s. 14.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) The Usipians inhabited the Duchy of Cleves, and other parts of Germany. See the *Manners of the Germans*, s. 32, note (*a*).

(*b*) The *Manipuli* were companies of foot, as the *Turmæ* were of the cavalry. A cohort consisted of sixty companies, ten in each,

amounting in the whole to six hundred men. Each cohort was commanded by a centurion. Roman soldiers were intermixed with the Usipians, in order to instruct a body of auxiliaries in the art of war.

(c) Tacitus has not mentioned the place from which these daring adventurers put to sea. Dio relates the same enterprise, but he also omits the port from which the voyage began. All we learn from that author, or rather from the abridgment of XIPHILIN, is, that certain soldiers, who had mutinied against their centurions, and put them to death, seized a vessel, and sailing, at the mercy of winds and waves, along the western part of the island, landed, against their design, upon the coast, near one of the camps which the Romans had in the country. See Manning's Dion Cassius, v. ii. p. 62. Tacitus had an opportunity of being informed by Agricola, his father-in-law; and his account is, therefore, more circumstantial. From both historians it may be fairly collected, that the outset of this desperate voyage was either from some port in Galloway, or from Cantire in Argyleshire, where Agricola had stationed his garrisons. The desert-

ers, in the course of their voyage, landed at various places, and suffered by famine and other disasters, till they reached the eastern coast, where, and where only, the Romans were stationed in different encampments.

(*d*) The adventurers, as stated in the last note, having either sailed northward of the Orcades, or through *Pentland Firth*, which divides those islands from the extremity of Scotland, reached the German Ocean; and thence, through want of skill in navigation, or driven by tempestuous weather, arrived at length in the Baltic (*Mare Suevicum*), and landed on the coast of the Suevians. Being considered as freebooters and pirates, their story gained no friends. The boldness of their enterprise found no admirers, and their sufferings excited no compassion. They were seized, first by the Suevi, between the *Vistula* and the *Elbe*. Those who escaped the Suevians, fell into the hands of the Frisians, between the Amisia (the Ems) and the Rhine. Being sold to slavery, many of them made their way to the Roman settlements on the west side of the Rhine, and there related their perils by sea and land.

It will not be altogether foreign to the purpose, and perhaps not unwelcome to the reader, if we observe, that, prior to the adventure of the Usipians, there was, in a former age, another enterprise, still more extraordinary. Pliny the elder relates the fact, after Cornelius Nepos, who, in his account of a voyage to the North, says, that in the consulship of Quintus Metellus Celer, and Lucius Afranius (A. U. C. 694, before Christ 60), certain Indians, who had embarked on a commercial voyage, were cast away on the coast of Germany, and given as a present, by the king of the Suevians, to Metellus, who was at that time proconsular governor of Gaul. *Cornelius Nepos de septemtrionali circuitu tradit, Quinto Metello Celeri, Lucii Afranii in consulatu collegæ, sed tum Galliæ proconsuli, Indos a rege Suevorum dono datos, qui ex Indiâ commercii causâ navigantes, tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti.* Pliny, lib. ii. s. 67. The work of Cornelius Nepos has not come down to us; and Pliny, as it seems, has abridged too much. The whole tract would have furnished a considerable event in the history of navigation. At present, we are left to conjecture, whether the

Indian adventurers sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Atlantic Ocean, and thence into the Northern Seas; or whether they made a voyage still more extraordinary, by passing the island of *Japan*, the coast of *Siberia*, *Kamchatska*, *Zembla* in the Frozen Ocean, and thence round *Lapland* and *Norway*, either into the Baltic or the German Ocean. In the former case, the passage from the East Indies was actually known long before the discovery of the Portuguese in the year 1497. In the second case, if they sailed along the coast of *China* and *Kamchatska*, the north-east passage, hither to attempted in vain, was explored many centuries ago.

It may be proper to mention, that about the year 1770, a set of navigators from Japan were driven by tempestuous weather to the northern coast of Siberia, and, having landed at *Kamchatska*, were conveyed to Petersburg, and there received by the Empress of Russia with the greatest humanity.

(*d*) This was the summer in the year of Rome 837, A. D. 84, when Agricola opened the seventh campaign.

Section XXIX.

(a) To ascertain the spot where the *Mons Grampius* or *Grampian Hill* stands, Gordon observes in his Itinerary, has employed the antiquaries both of England and Scotland. Camden, and most of the English, in their commentaries on this passage, fix it at a place called *Grantsnaib*; but where that is, Gordon says, he could not discover. The Scotch antiquaries, he observes, are much divided; some contending for the shire of *Angus*, others for the *Blair of Athol* in *Pershshire* or *Ardoch* in *Strathallan*. After examining those different propositions, Gordon gives his opinion, that the *Mons Grampius*, mentioned by Tacitus, is in *Strathearn*, half a mile south of the Kirk of *Comerie*. His reasons, as well as they can be condensed in this note, are as follow:—In the first place, there is in Scotland a most remarkable ridge of mountains, called the GRAMPIAN HILLS, which divide the *Highlands* from the *Lowlands*, reaching from *Dumbarton* on the Frith of *Clyde* as far as *Aberdeen* on the German Ocean. The *Mons Grampius* in question is undoubtedly one of those Grampian hills; and that it

was near the *Kirk of Comerie*, Gordon thinks evident from the following facts. Near *Comerie* he found a large extended plain, about a mile in breadth, and several miles in length: and on one part of the plain, a noble square Roman encampment, divided into two partitions each surrounded with two *aggeres*, or ramparts, and between them a large *fossa*, or ditch, with four distinct entrances into the camp, analogous to those described by Josephus, when the Romans laid siege to Jerusalem. Gordon adds, that he calculated the number of men contained in the southmost camp, according to the allowance of ground made by Polybius for each foot-soldier, and was agreeably surprised to find it contained the precise number which Tacitus says (sect. xxxv.) Agricola had under his command at the battle of *Mons Grampius*, viz. 8000 auxiliaries; and in the other square, exactly 3000 horse. The plain is directly at the foot of the *Grampian hills*; and there are the *colles*, or rising grounds, on which the Caledonians were placed before the battle. Nor is it difficult, on viewing this ground, to guess at the place where the *covinarii*, or charioteers, wheeled about. Gordon adds one argument more,

which he thinks decisive: the moor, on which the camp stands, is called to this day *Galdachan*, or *Galgachan Ross-moor;* not that *Galgacus* constructed the camp, but here he engaged Agricola's army; for which reason his name is left on the place. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 39 and 40.—It must not be dissembled, that Mr. Pennant, a very ingenious and entertaining traveller, has lately visited the same ground, and has given his reasons for dissenting from Mr. Gordon. What that gentleman advances, must always merit attention. The camp, he says, which Gordon has described, lies between the river *Earn*, and the little stream called the *Ruchel*, on a plain too contracted for such a number of combatants as Tacitus says there was, to form and act in, or for their charioteers or cavalry to scour the field. He admits that there are several small hills near the greater, where the Britons might have ranged themselves before the battle. But the distance from the sea is, with Mr. Pennant, an insuperable argument against this being the spot; as we are expressly informed, that, Agricola sent his fleet before, in order to distract and divide the enemy; and that he himself marched with his

army, till he arrived at the Grampian mountain, where he found the Caledonians drawn up in force. Mr. Pennant says, from the whole account given by Tacitus, it should be supposed that the action was fought in an open country, at the foot of certain hills, not in a little plain amidst defiles, as the valleys about *Comerie* consist of. Pennant's *Tour*, 1772, part ii. p. 96. It is not the design of this note to decide between those two opposite opinions; but, upon due consideration, it may be found that Mr. Pennant's arguments are far from being conclusive. The place, however, for a fair investigation will be, when Tacitus draws up both armies in order of battle. We shall then be able to form a more exact idea of the spot; and, perhaps, we shall have reason to accede to Gordon's opinion. See sect. 35, and note (*a*).

(*b*) In the chronicle of the kings of Scotland, *Galgacus* is called *Galdus;* of which name, and its etymology, Gordon gives the following account:—*Galgacus* was latinised by the Romans from two Highland appellations, viz. *Gald* and *Cachach;* the first, *Gald*, being the proper name, and the second an

adjection to it, from the battles he had fought; it signifies the same as *precious*; *Gald the fighter of battles*; which kind of nickname is still in use among the Highlanders. Thus the late Viscount *Dundee* was, by the Highlanders that followed him, called *John Du-Nan-Cach, Black-haired John who fights the battles*: and in like manner John Duke of Argyle was known among the Highlanders by the name of *John Roy-Nan-Cach, Red-haired John who fights the battles*. Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 40. In the speech ascribed to this gallant chieftain, we have a striking picture of Roman oppression. The various arts of those ambitious conquerors, and the vices of their government in the several provinces of the empire, are painted forth in glaring colours. The art of compressing in pathetic language, with precision and energy, all the topics that can inspire the heart of man with a generous love of liberty, is here displayed in full perfection. It may indeed be doubted, whether *Galgacus* spoke what Tacitus has put into his mouth; but that he harangued his men is highly probable. In those days, no battle was fought without a speech from the general, to rouse and animate the valour of

his army. We see the same custom among the ancient Germans, and we find it among the savages of America. In our times few or no speeches are made at the head of the line. The modern general has no occasion to be an orator: his artillery speaks for him. But since it is likely that *Galgacus* addressed his men, that probability is ground sufficient for the historian; and *Galgacus*, then upon the point of a decisive action, when all that was dear to him depended on the event, may be fairly allowed to have addressed his men in substance at least, if not in the manner, here represented. The ferocity of a savage, whose bosom glowed with the love of liberty, gives warmth and spirit to the whole speech. Neither the Greek nor Roman page has any thing to compare with it. The critics have admired the speech of Porus to Alexander; but, excellent as it is, it shrinks and fades away before the Caledonian orator. Even the speech of Agricola, which follows immediately after it, is tame and feeble, when opposed to the ardour, the impetuosity, and the vehemence of the British chief. We see Tacitus exerting all his art to decorate the character of his father-in-law: but he had nei-

ther the same vein of sentiment, nor the same generous love of liberty, to support the cause of an ambitious conqueror. In the harangue of *Galgacus*, the pleasure of the reader springs from two principles: he admires the enthusiasm of the brave Caledonian, and at the same time applauds the noble historian, who draws up a charge against the tyranny of his own countrymen, and generously lists on the side of liberty.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) The Trinobantes, or the people of Essex, joined the Icenians in the grand revolt under Boadicea. See this Tract, sect. xvi. and *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31.

(*b*) This passage has occasioned much controversy among the commentators; but those gentlemen are often ingenious to no end but to perplex themselves. The text is susceptible of an easy and obvious construction; and it is this: We have been hitherto unsubdued, and therefore we are not now to taste of liberty for the first time: we have always enjoyed our rights; let us preserve them by our valour.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) In consequence of the military system of the Romans, the soldiers remained in a state of celibacy. Dio tells us, that the emperor Claudius, to relieve them from the strict severity of the laws, allowed them all the rights and privileges annexed to the married state. Severus owed the imperial dignity to the legions; and to mark his gratitude, gave them leave to marry, and, by that and other indulgences, relaxed, and well nigh ruined, the discipline of the army. Before that time, a Roman camp had no place of accommodation for women. See, in Duncan's Cæsar, a dissertation on the Roman art of war. That the Germans and other barbarians were inflamed with uncommon ardour by their women in the field of battle, has appeared in various instances throughout the Annals and History of Tacitus.

(*b*) The conquered provinces furnished auxiliaries, and the legions were often recruited by levies raised in distant parts of the empire. Those soldiers were not interested in the cause of Rome: their native country was in different and remote places.

(*c*) The good sense, no less than the spirit, of the Caledonian warrior is seen in this remark. Livy has a similar passage. The plume and crest of the enemy can inflict no wound; the Roman javelin can pierce the painted shield; and the ranks of war, that display their glittering mantles, when attacked sword in hand, are soon discoloured with blood. *Non cristas vulnera facere, et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; et candore tunicarum fulgentem aciem, ubi res ferro geratur, cruentari.* Livy, lib. x. s. 39.

(*d*) The Usipians were auxiliaries from Germany, engaged in the quarrels of Rome: but not feeling themselves interested in the cause, they determined to return to their own country, and with that design, committed themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves. See this Tract, s. 28.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) There is here a small mistake, the error perhaps of the copyist; as this, in fact, was Agricola's seventh campaign. In the speech that follows, the reader will see the

colours of rhetoric employed, to flatter the soldier's pride, and decorate the lust of dominion with specious and seducing appearances.

(*b*) Under all former commanders, the scene of action was in that part of Britain called England. Statius, indeed, using his poetical licence, carries Bolanus as far as *Thulé*, and crowns his hero with laurels in the Highlands of Scotland. See sect. viii. note (*a*), and xvi. note (*c*). But Agricola was the first Roman general that carried his victorious arms into Caledonia, and reduced that whole country as far as the Frith of *Tay*.

(*c*) Livy has a similar sentiment. The soldiers, he says, fixed their eyes on their arms and the swords in their hands, which they considered as their only hope. *Arma tantùm ferrumque in dextris, velut solas reliquias spei suæ, intuentes.* Lib. v. s. 42.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) An account of this attack, in which the legion, if Agricola had not arrived in time, would probably have been cut to pieces, is given in this Tract, sect. xxvi.

(*b*) Aulus Plautius undertook his expedition into Britain, A. U. C. 796. From that time to the battle now impending, one or two and forty years had elapsed: Agricola did not think an exact statement necessary; he was speaking to the passions, and, therefore, used an oratorical amplification.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) We are now on the point of a great and decisive action. The motives that incite both armies have been displayed with energy. On one side, the liberty of a people is depending; on the other, the fate of the Roman army. The order, in which the combatants were drawn up, is now presented to us, but with the usual brevity of Tacitus. All this preparation keeps the reader in suspense, and fills the mind with expectation. As Britons we feel for our ancestors, and as scholars we are dazzled by the glory of the Roman name. We have now before us the preparation for the *swelling scene*. The main body of the Caledonians took post on the acclivity of the Grampian mount; their advanced lines stood at the foot of the hill, and the ranks rose one above another, in regular order, to the sum-

mit. The charioteers and horsemen advanced on the open plain, and rushed to and fro with wild velocity. On the side of the Romans, the order of battle was as follows:—Eight thousand auxiliaries formed the centre; the cavalry, amounting to three thousand, took post in the wings: the legions were stationed in the rear, near the intrenchments, to act as occasion required, as a body of reserve; and, that the enemy might not be able to make an impression on the flank, the front lines of the army were extended to a considerable length. Brotier, in his note on this passage, adds, that the spot where the battle was fought was in *Strathearn*, near the *Kirk of Comerie*: for this he relies on the authority of Gordon. The camp, described in two divisions, one for the auxiliaries, and the other for the cavalry (see sect. xxix. note *a*), appears to him to be a circumstance of great weight, as indeed it must to every one who considers that the Romans seldom or never came to action till they had, in some convenient place, formed a camp, and thrown up their intrenchments, to secure their retreat. There were besides, as appears in Gordon's Itinerary, other camps in the adjacent country, from which Agricola drew to-

gether the main strength of the army. Mr. Pennant observes, that, according to Tacitus, the Caledonians were above thirty thousand strong, and could not act with effect in close and narrow defiles. See sect. XXIX. note (*a*). But, as it should seem, the spot was chosen by Galgacus, with a view to draw the Romans into a contracted plain, and then pour down upon them from the high grounds, and the Grampian hill. On the other hand, Agricola, who is celebrated for skill in choosing his ground, might also prefer a place where thirty thousand men could not at once attack an inferior army. In this it appears that he succeeded. We are told, that the enormous swords of the Caledonians were unfit for an engagement in a confined space; *in arcto pugnam non tolerabant*: and afterwards, when the charioteers rushed into the heat of the action, they were soon entangled among the inequalities of the ground; *inæqualibus locis hærebant*. The objection, therefore, to the narrowness of the field of battle, on which Mr. Pennant lays so much stress, seems to lose its force, when we find that the battle was actually fought in a place of no great extent, surrounded by a number of hills, besides the

Grampian mountain, where the main body of the Caledonians lay in wait for an opportunity to rush down upon the Romans. As to the distance from the sea, which Mr. Pennant calls an insuperable argument, as Agricola sent forward his fleet to distract the enemy, it is by no means a decisive circumstance. In Agricola's sixth campaign (see sect. xxv.) Tacitus tells us, that the fleet and land forces proceeded in sight of each other. In the present expedition, that is not said to have been the case. The Roman general might order his fleet to sail across the friths both of the *Tay* and the *Forth*, while he himself, at the head of his army, marched in quest of the enemy, then actually assembled at the Grampian hill. In case of a defeat, the ships were, perhaps, in the Frith of *Tay* to receive the flying army. Upon the whole, it appears, from all the circumstances of the battle, that the Caledonians, far from wishing to act in a wide-extended plain, chose a spot, where they were posted to advantage, on the hills. When at last they quitted their fastnesses, it is evident that they could not exert themselves with effect amidst the narrow defiles. Upon the whole, the controversy will not easily be decided:

antiquarians are seldom willing to agree, and the Grampian hill is likely to continue a subject of contention. The reader, who promises himself either pleasure or instruction from the enquiry, will do well to peruse the arguments of Gordon and Mr. Pennant, as stated by themselves. He will then be able to draw his own conclusion.

(*b*) From this passage it is evident, that while the Caledonians kept their post on the Grampian hill, and the adjacent heights, the plain was wide enough for the charioteers and cavalry; but, in the heat of the engagement, they were drawn into narrow passes, where they could no longer act with vigour.

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) These targets, in Latin *cetræ*, were made of oziers, or boards, covered over with leather. The Caledonians, who fought on this occasion, left the fashion of their armour, as well as an example of courage, to late posterity. The broad sword and target are well known to have been, in modern times, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.

(*b*) The Batavians, after their revolt under Civilis, which ended A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70. (see *Hist.* b. v. s. 26), renewed their ancient friendship with the Romans. Several inscriptions on altars, having *Cohors prima Batavorum* engraved on them, have been dug up in the north of England. Several others, commemorating the Tungrian cohorts, have been found, as may be seen in Gordon's Itinerary.

(*c*) Brotier observes, from Vegetius, b. i. s. 12, that the Britons fought with the edge of their sword, and cut and hewed the enemy. The Romans, on the contrary, made use of the point, and, in close engagement, had greatly the advantage.

(*d*) The British warrior in his chariot is here called *Covinarius*, the driver of a *covinus*. It has been already mentioned, that the chieftain, contrary to the practice of the Greeks, thought it a point of honour to guide the car, while other combatants from the same vehicle annoyed the enemy. See this Tract, s. xii. note (*a*). Some of the critics will have it, that the word *covinus* must have been coined by Tacitus, since it is not to be found in any

other Latin writer: but they forget that Lucan has used it, and he wrote his Pharsalia before Tacitus was grown up to man's estate:

Et docilis rector monstrati Belga Covini.
PHARS. lib. i. ver. 426.

The name used by Cæsar for the Britons' warlike chariot is ESSEDA. Their way of fighting in these vehicles, he tell us, is as follows:—They first drive round all parts of the lines, throwing their darts, and, by the very terror of their horses, and the rattling of their wheels, disordering the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the thick of the cavalry, they leap from their chariots, and fight on foot. Meanwhile the drivers retire a little way from the combat, and place themselves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their comrades, should they be overpowered by the enemy. Thus they perform the part of nimble horsemen, and stable infantry. By continual exercise they have arrived at such expertness, that in the most steep and difficult places, they can stop their horses at full stretch, turn them which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and with incredible agility recover their seat

in the chariot. *Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. s. 33. Duncan's *Cæsar*, b. iv. s. 29.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) Longinus has observed, that banishing copulatives is a great help to the grandeur of a sentence: when conjunctions are artfully discarded, the periods are poured along in such a manner that they seem to outstrip the thought of the speaker. He cites a passage in Xenophon as an example: Closing their shields together, they were pushed, they fought, they slew, they were slain. In describing the rout of Catiline's army, Sallust says, They fled, they were followed, they were killed, they were taken. *Sequi, fugere, occidi, capi.* Tacitus saw the hurry, the force, the rapidity of the disjointed words in Sallust, and thought the passage worthy of imitation. Voltaire has endeavoured to show the wild disorder of a battle in the same manner:

Français, Anglais, Lorrains, que la fureur assemble,
Avançaient, combattaient, frappaient, mouraient ensemble.

HENRIADE, Chant 6.

(*b*) Aulus Atticus was probably the prefect of a Tungrian cohort. An altar dedicated to

the god *Mars*, by Quintus Florius Maternus, prefect of a Tungrian cohort, has been dug up in Scotland. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 76.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) This picture of rage and despair, of tenderness, fury, and the tumult of contending passions, has all the fine touches of a master who had studied human nature. It often happens, that in the last extremity of despair, the mind is fired with sudden courage. Rather than fall with tame resignation, it rouses all its force, and, by one vigorous effort, endeavours to signalize itself even in ruin. Tacitus has said in another place, *Desperatione in audaciam accinguntur*. The Cimbrian women, when they saw their husbands defeated by Marius, acted with the most savage ferocity, and in their fury destroyed their own children. See the *Manners of the Germans*, sect. xxxvii.

(*b*) The Horestians are said, by some of the commentators, to have inhabited the country now called *Angus*, on the north side of the *Tay*. Gordon, in his Itinerary, says that Agricola, after his victory, led back his

army into the country of the *Horestii*, or *Angus;* for, as it is certain that Agricola, in the third year of his expedition, had been there before, so it is natural to think he led his army to the place where his fleet was, which most probably was in the Firth of *Tay*. *Itinerary*, p. 40. But in this there seems to be some mistake. We are expressly told by Tacitus, that Agricola, in his third campaign, penetrated as far as the Firth of *Tay: Vastatis usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est) nationibus*. Not a word is said of his proceeding farther. He erected forts and castles to bridle the natives during the winter, and the business of his fourth campaign was to secure what he had over-run in the preceding summer. In the sixth summer, when all the northern Caledonians were in motion, it was the opinion of the principal officers that the most advisable measure would be to repass the Forth. Hence it is clear that Agricola was then in *Fifeshire*, and not in *Angus;* otherwise, to repass the *Tay* would have been the advice. After the victory at the *Grampian Hill*, Agricola led back his army, and that was most probably into *Fifeshire*, where camps and forts had been erected. For these

reasons it may be assumed, that the *Horestii* were the people of *Fifeshire*.

(*c*) This circumnavigation is not related with sufficient accuracy. Agricola heard of the bold adventure of the Usipians (see sect. xxviii.), and resolved to gain farther information; but the place, from which his fleet set out on the voyage, is not mentioned. It was, beyond all doubt, from the *Forth* or the *Tay*. Being with his army in *Fifeshire*, he could there, with all convenience, issue his orders. The expedition being begun, he proceeded by slow marches towards the southern parts of Caledonia, and led his army into winter-quarters.

(*d*) The fleet, in the mean time, sailed round the extremity of the island, and, having pursued the voyage along the western coast, and through the British Channel, arrived at *Sandwich*, called in the text *Portus Trutulensis*, probably by an error of the copyist, as the real name is *Rutupensis*, or *Rutupinus*. So it is called by Ptolemy. Juvenal has

——————Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea—————— Sat. iv. ver. 141.

This voyage, which ascertained that Britain is an island, was in a contrary direction to that of the Usipian deserters. The fleet set out from the *Forth* or *Tay* on the eastern coast, and, sailing thence round the northern, western, and southern coasts, arrived at the port of *Sandwich* in *Kent*, and, proceeding along the eastern side of the island, returned without loss to its former station.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) While Agricola was thus employed in extending the limits of the empire, and securing his conquests, as far as the neck of land between the *Forth* and the *Clyde*, by a chain of forts and garrisons, Domitian (A. U. C. 837, A. D. 84) went on his mock expedition into Germany, and returned without seeing the face of an enemy. Caligula had left him the precedent of a victory without a foe to conquer. In imitation of that brilliant example, Domitian purchased a number of slaves, whom he ordered to let their hair grow, and tinge it with yellow, that they might pass for German prisoners of war. See the account of Caligula in Suetonius, s. 47. See this Tract, sect. xiii. and note (*c*).

(b) Pliny, in the Panegyric on Trajan, has given a striking picture of Domitian in his dark retreat. That savage beast was shut up as it were in a den, where he quaffed the blood of his relations; and when he came forth, it was to riot in the destruction of the best and most illustrious citizens. Dismay and terror obstructed his door; and they, who were excluded, were as much in danger as those that gained admittance. The tyrant was horrible to the sight, and his approach was dreadful: pride in his aspect; anger in his eye; (a) feminine whiteness over his whole body; and in his countenance an air of arrogance, flushed with the deepest red. No man dared to approach him; none could speak to him; he remained in darkness brooding mischief, and never came forth from his solitude, but to make a worse solitude by the destruction of eminent men. *Illa immanissima bellua, velut quodam specu inclusa, nunc propinquorum sanguinem lamberet; nunc se ad clarissimorum civium strages cædesque proferret. Obversabantur foribus horror et minæ, et par metus admissis et exclusis. Ad hoc ipse occursu quoque visuque terribilis: superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, fœmineus pallor in cor-*

pore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa. Non adire quisquam, non alloqui audebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem; nec unquam ex solitudine suâ prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret. *Panegyr. Traj.* sect. 48. In the beginning of his reign his love of solitude was rather more innocent; but still it was a prelude to future cruelty. He passed an hour every day in private, wholly employed in catching flies, and fixing them on the sharp point of a bodkin. Hence, when somebody enquired, *whether any one was with the emperor*, Vibius Crispus aptly and pleasantly answered, *Not so much as a fly. Ut cuidam interroganti,* ESSETNE QUISQUAM INTUS CUM CÆSARE, *non absurde responsum sit a Vibio Crispo,* NE MUSCA QUIDEM. Suetonius, *in Domitiano*, sect. 3.

Section XL.

(*a*) A real triumph, after the downfal of the republic, was reserved for the emperor only. The title of IMPERATOR was assumed by the prince. At first it meant no more than GENERAL IN CHIEF; but, as all power was centred in him, the word, in process of time, implied what is now understood by the ap-

publication of his [illegible]. Augustus Cæsar was not in haste to arrogate to himself the sole right of enjoying the honour of a triumph: with the address of an able politician, he resolved to make it of little value, and, for that purpose, he granted a triumph to no less than thirty different persons. At length, in the year of Rome 740, that military reward was abolished altogether. Augustus was indebted for the opportunity to the art of Agrippa, who, by a complete victory over the people of Bosphorus, had reinstated Polemon on his throne, and refused the triumph which was decreed by the senate. This was a stroke of courtly compliance with the wishes of his master. From that time, Dio says, the commanders of armies followed the example of Agrippa; and no Roman, however eminent for his military talents, enjoyed any higher distinction than that of triumphal ornaments, which were, the general's splendid garment, a statue in the forum crowned with laurels, and other *insignia* formerly allowed in a real triumph. The commanders of armies, after gaining a victory, ceased to address their letters to the senate. Like Agrippa, they were willing to pay their court to Augustus. They renounced their

claim, and, in this manner, the pomp of a triumph became annexed to the imperial prerogative. See *Annals*, b. iv. s. 23; b. xv. s. 72; *Hist*. b. i. s. 79.

(*b*) The straits of *Dover*.

(*c*) Agricola resigned the command A. U. C. 838, A. D. 85. The officer who succeeded him is supposed to be Sallustius Lucullus, of whom history has recorded nothing more than that he invented lances of a new form, and gave them the name of *Lucullean*. This gave umbrage to Domitian, and, for that reason, the tyrant ordered him to be put to death. Sueton. *Life of Domitian*, sect. 10.

(*d*) La Bletterie observes that the modest deportment of Agricola calls to mind the character of Marshal Turenne, and this, he says, is not the only prominent feature in which the two heroes resemble each other. In the funeral orations, commemorating the French general, many of those analogies are pointed out.

Section XLI.

(a) Among artful and insidious courtiers, those, who are lavish of praise, are often the most inveterate enemies. Tacitus, in another part of his work, gives the reason: under a bad prince, a great name is as dangerous as a bad one. *Nec minus periculum ex magnâ famâ, quam ex malâ.* Praise a man, in the presence of a tyrant, for his popular virtues, and his ruin is sure to follow. Virgil knew that praise, under a specious disguise, is an envenomed enemy.

Et si ultra placitum laudarit, baccharе frontem
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

PAST. vii. 27, 28.

Or if he blast my muse with envious praise,
Then fence my brows with amulets of bays;
Lest his ill arts, or his malicious tongue,
Should poison, or bewitch, my growing song.

DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

The malignity with which this praise is bestowed, in order to render an eminent character obnoxious to the prince, who lives in dread of superior virtue, has been the stratagem of ill-designing men in all ages. The emperor Julian, in a letter to his friend, says, that

the insidious art of undermining by counterfeit praise is chiefly known in the palace of princes, where the politic courtier hates, while he commends; and stabs you with his panegyric beyond the malice of your most bitter enemies. *Conscii sumus invicem ambo, non uti noseâ aulicâ dissimulatione, quam arbitror te hactenus expertum esse solùm in dominantium regiâ; juxta quam* LAUDANTES *tali odio prosequuntur eos, quos celebrant, quale neque exercent infensissimi hostes.* See the Emperor Julian's 12th Ep. to Basilius.

(*b*) These various disasters happened in the years of Rome 840 and 841. Oppius Sabinus, a man of consular rank, was defeated by the Dacians in Mæsia; the legions under him were put to the sword; the general's head was cut off, and exhibited on a pole, a public spectacle for the barbarians. In another engagement with the same enemy, Cornelius Fuscus met with a total defeat. In Germany and Pannonia various battles were fought with doubtful success, and great effusion of Roman blood. Suetonius has recorded these events, but in his usual style, content with a dry statement of facts. See the Life of Domitian, sect. vi.

(a) The Rhine and the Danube were, at this time, the boundaries that divided Germany from the Roman empire.

Section XLII.

(a) In the several provinces which were left by Augustus under the management of the senate, the governors, according to ancient usage, were changed at the end of the year. The senators, who had five years before discharged the office either of consul or prætor, had a right to be candidates for the employment. The senate named a competent number, and the persons so elected drew lots for their provinces; and, whether consuls or prætors, they were, without distinction, called by the general title of proconsular governors.

(b) We know nothing of Civica but what is here mentioned by Tacitus, and also by Suetonius, who informs us, that his name was Civica Cerealis, a man of consular rank, and governor of Asia. Domitian charged him with a conspiracy against the state, and under that pretence put him to death. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian*, sect. 10.

(c) Under the worst of the emperors, men

were obliged, by a refinement in tyranny, to receive injuries, and to be grateful for them. Tacitus mentions several persons, who were injured in their rights, and yet, being inured to slavery, they returned thanks to Vitellius. *Actæque insuper Vitellio gratiæ, consuetudine servitii.* *Hist.* lib. ii. s. 71. Otway has made *Chamant* express himself on this subject with a spirit of indignation.

> I have not slavish temperance enough,
> To wait a great man's heels, and watch his smiles;
> Bear an ill office done me to my face,
> And thank the lord that wrong'd me for his favour.

The abject spirit, with which men submitted to the tyranny of Caligula, is emphatically described by Seneca. That emperor, he says, received thanks from those whose children he put to death, or whose property he confiscated. *Agebant gratias et quorum liberi occisi, et quorum bona ablata erant.* *De Tranquill. Animi*, sect. 14. The same author relates the answer of an old courtier, when he was asked how he arrived at a thing so uncommon among the attendants of princes as a sound old age? It was, replied the veteran, by receiving injuries, and returning thanks. *Notissima vox est ejus, qui in cultu*

regum consenuerat, cum illum quidam interrogaret, quomodo rarissimam rem in aulâ consecutus esset, senectutem? Injurias, inquit, accipiendo, et gratias agendo. De Ira, lib. ii. sect. 3. In opposition to this servile spirit, Lipsius, in a strain of rapture, offers up his adoration to Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio, for the magnanimity with which they braved the tyrant's cruelty. *Sed vos magnæ animæ mihi salvete! quos jure miramur, colimus, factis dictisque sapientes, et legitimos robustæ porticûs alumnos.*

(*d*) In the time of the old republic, the governors of provinces served their country without any salary annexed to their office. It was seen, however, by Augustus, that, by an unprofitable and gratuitous service, men were exposed to various temptations; and, accordingly, that emperor, to leave avarice and rapacity without an excuse, established a regular allowance for each different province. The governors appointed by the senate were paid out of the *ærarium*, or public treasury; and the emperor defrayed the charge of the administration in the imperial provinces, out of the *fiscus*, or his own private coffers. If, for

good and sufficient reason, a citizen of eminence chose to decline the fatigue of a proconsular government, it was usual, on accepting his resignation, to allow him the income of his office. The etymology of the word salary is ingeniously explained by the elder Pliny. Human nature, he says, cannot exist without salt, which is so much an element of life, that, passing from bodily sensation, it is now become a metaphorical term for the pleasures of the mind. Salt is agreeable to the palate, and is, therefore, transferred to the mental taste. By that name we call whatever is pleasing to our intellectual faculties; whatever is poignant, gay, lively, or agreeable. The word is still more extensive: it is used to signify civil honours; and the pay of officers, and the governors of provinces, is called their SALARY. *Ita herculè vita humanior sine sale nequit degere; adeoque necessarium elementum est, ut transierit ad voluptates animi quoque. Nam ita sales appellantur; omnisque vitæ lepos, et summa hilaritas, laborumque requies non alio magis vocabulo constat. Honoribus etiam militiæque interponitur,* SALARIIS *inde dictis.* Plin. lib. xxxi, s. 7.

(e) Seneca has the same sentiment, and Tacitus seems to have adopted the very words. *Hoc habent pessimum animi magnâ fortunâ insolentes: quos læserunt, et oderunt. De Irâ*, lib. ii. s. 33.

(f) Hatred is always a dark, a covered, and a lurking passion; the more concealed, the more implacable: so it was with Domitian, and we have seen the same feature of character in Tiberius. In a sudden transport of passion he broke out against Haterius; but, harbouring deep resentment against Scaurus, he let him pass in sullen silence. *Annals*, b. i. s. 13. And again, he laid up the seeds of resentment, which were to grow to maturity and shoot forth with large increase at a future day. *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret. Annals*, b. i. s. 69.

Section XLIII.

(a) A Greek epigram, written by Antiphilus of Byzantium, to the memory of a person of the name of Agricola, is still extant. The learned refer it to the great man who is the subject of the present work. The poet

addresses himself to the fountains, and desires to know, what has dried up their waters. The answer is, We have wept for Agricola; and the stream, which before was limpid, is now absorbed by his ashes.

Κρηναῖαι λιβάδες, τι πεφεύγατε; πῆ τόσον ὕδωρ;
Τίς φλὸξ ἀενάης ἔσβεσεν ἀελίου;
Δάκρυσιν Ἀγρικόλα τετρίμμεθα; πᾶν δ' ὅσον ἡμῖν
Ἦν ποτὲ, νῦν κείνου δίψαν ἔχει σποδιή.

ANTHOLOGIA, lib. i. tit. 37.

Grotius and La Bletterie have given their versions of this little poem. It may be some amusement to compare them, and therefore, without apology, both shall have their place.

Quo, fontis latices, quo copia vestra recessit?
Perpetuas solis quis calor hausit aquas?
Agricolæ luctu consumitur: illius, ante
Humida, nunc fiunt pulverulenta, siti.

GROTIUS.

Fontani latices, quo pristina copia cessit?
Dicite, quis liquidas sol populavit opes?
Agricolam flendo defecimus, et quod aquarum
Hic erat, extincti nunc habet omne cinis.

LA BLETTERIE.

(b) From the manner in which Tacitus states this charge, it may be inferred that he

gave no credit to it; and yet Dio does not hesitate to confirm the story. Suetonius is silent on the subject. But the Greek historian is often bold in assertion, and frequently deficient in point of truth, or historical evidence. If we believe him, Agricola, after his return from the conquest of Britain, passed the remainder of his days in distress and poverty: but Tacitus, on the contrary, assures us, that, though he did not possess immoderate wealth, he enjoyed a decent affluence. The Roman historian had the best means of information.

Section XLIV.

(*a*) There seems, in this place, to be some mistake, not, however, imputable to Tacitus, but, more probably, to the transcribers, who in their manuscript might easily write LVI. instead of LIV. Caligula's third consulship was A. U. C. 793, A. D. 40. Agricola was born on the thirteenth of June in that year: he died on the 10th of the calends of September, that is the 23d of August, in the consulship of Pompeius Collega and Cornelius Priscus, A. U. C. 846, A. D. 93. According to this account, Agricola, on the 13th of June, A. U. 846, entered on the fifty-fourth year of

his age, and died in the month of August following. It is, therefore, probable, that the copyists, as already observed, inserted in their manuscript FIFTY-SIX for FIFTY-FOUR. This supposition admitted, Tacitus, who, in a matter of near concern, was not likely to be guilty of an error in his calculation, may be rightly understood, and the commentators will be freed from all their difficulties. The character that follows is a miniature picture by a masterly hand. Cornelius Nepos has a passage not unlike what is said of Agricola: When strangers beheld Agesilaus, they were tempted to despise him; but those, who were acquainted with his virtues, thought they could never admire him enough. *Ignoti faciem ejus cum intuerentur, contemnebant. Qui autem virtutem noverant, non poterant admirari satis.* The difference is, Agricola was not despised by strangers; he had all the exteriors of a good man: but they who expected to find a form and stature adequate to his fame in arms, were disappointed, though willing to believe him a great, as well as a good man. The same thing happened to Alexander: Thalestris surveyed him with an undaunted countenance, thinking his figure by no means pro-

portioned to his wide-extended fame. *Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans.* The historian gives the reason: Barbarians judge of men by their outward appearance, and think none capable of great exploits, but those whom nature has distinguished by the graces and the dignity of their figure. *Quippe hominibus barbaris ex corporum majestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie natura dignata est.* Quintus Curtius, lib. vi. s. 13.

(*b*) From the passage before us there is reason to conclude, that this tract was published when Trajan was in possession of the imperial dignity. See the Introduction of those Notes.

(*c*) Seneca gives the same account of Caligula; a man who meditated the destruction of the whole senate; who wished that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might glut his love of blood at a single stroke. *Homo qui de toto senatu trucidando cogitabat: qui optabat, ut populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet, ut scelera sua tot locis ac tem-*

poribus didicta, in unum ictum et unam diem cogeret. *De Iræ*, lib. iii. s. 19. On the subject of Domitian's cruelty, Juvenal breaks out with his usual indignation. He represents the emperor, at a cabinet council in his Alban villa, debating with his courtiers how an immense turbot was to be dressed. The poet concludes with wishing that the emperor had passed his days in that despicable manner, not in the slaughter of the best men in Rome.

Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
Tempora sævitiæ, claras quibus abstulit urbi
Illustresque animas impunè, et vindice nullo:
Sed periit, postquam cœnonibus esse timendus
Cœperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.
SAT. iv. ver. 150.

What folly this! but, oh that all the rest
Of his dire reign had thus been spent in jest;
And all that time such trifles had employ'd,
In which so many nobles he destroy'd!
He safe, they unreveng'd, to the disgrace
Of the surviving, tame, patrician race.
But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
Him, who so many lords had slain, they slew.
DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XLV.

(*a*) In a short time after the death of Agricola, towards the end of the year of Rome

846, the rage of Domitian broke out with collected violence, and like a tempest swept away numbers of both sexes, all distinguished by their virtues no less than by their illustrious rank. The senate-house was surrounded by the prætorian guards, the fathers sat amidst swords and javelins, and the will of the tyrant was a law. See this Tract, sect. ii. note (*d*). Suetonius, in the Life of Domitian, sect. x. says, that many of the senate fell a sacrifice, and among them several of consular rank. We find in the list Sallustius Lucullus, who has been mentioned in note (*c*), sect. xl.; and Cerealis Civica, for whom see sect. xlii. and note (*b*). Salvidienus Orsitus was sent into exile, and there put to death by order of Domitian. Acilius Glabrio suffered for an extraordinary reason. In the year of his consulship, the emperor, without any respect for the dignity of a man then actually exercising the functions of the first office in the state, ordered him to enter the list in the public spectacles, and fight a lion for the diversion of the populace. The consul had the address to kill the ferocious beast; but, as he, who could conquer a lion, might slay a tyrant, he was banished, and put to death. Ælius Lamia, a

man descended from an illustrious family, perished, as Suetonius informs us, on account of some innocent strokes of wit and pleasantry, that fell from him before Domitian obtained the sovereignty; *ob suspiciosos quidem, verum veteres et innoxios jocos.* Salvinus Cocceianus was nephew to Otho. When that emperor saw his affairs ruined, and was resolved to end his days, his advice to his nephew was, Remember that Otho was your uncle; but do not remember it too much. *Ne patruum sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur unquam, aut nimium meminisset. Hist.* lib. ii. s. 48. Under a tyrant like Domitian, to seem to forget would have been true policy; but the nephew celebrated the birth-day of his uncle, and that was a state crime. Metius Pomposianus had procured geographical charts of all the nations then known, and carried about him the speeches of kings and generals, extracted from Livy. For this conduct he was banished to an island, and there destroyed. Herennius Senecio, for the praise of Helvidius Priscus, and Arulenus Rusticus, for that of Pætus Thrasea, were victims to the insatiate cruelty of the tyrant. See this Tract, s. 2, and notes (*a*) and (*b*).

Besides others of inferior note, Flavius Clemens, a near relation of the emperor, and jointly consul with him, A. U. C. 848, A. D. 95, was condemned, though a man, as Suetonius has it, contemptible for his sluggish indolence; *contemptissimæ inertiæ*. Dio assigns the reason: he was accused of atheism, like many others who had embraced the Jewish religion. In the Pagan style of that age, the double charge of atheism and Judaism implied that Clemens renounced the gods of Rome for the Christian religion. In this general massacre the female sex did not escape. Arria, the widow of Pætus Thrasea; Fannia, the widow of Helvidius Priscus; and Flava Domitilla, the wife of Flavius Clemens; were driven into banishment. That Agricola did not live to see the calamities of his country, was some consolation to Tacitus, who, it should seem, had his eye on a fine passage, in which Cicero makes a similar reflection on the death of Crassus, the celebrated orator. His death, he says, was a sore affliction to his family, a wound to the commonwealth, and matter of grief to all good men. But the times that followed were such, that his death may be called a blessing sent down by the special fa-

vour of the gods. He did not live to see Italy involved in a general war; the senate rent and torn by factions; the first men in the state perpetrating the worst of crimes; his daughter left disconsolate; her husband driven into exile; the flight of Marius, his return to Rome, and the slaughter that followed, *Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriæ, grave bonis omnibus. Sed ii tamen rempublicam casus secuti sunt, ut mihi non erepta Lucio Crasso a diis immortalibus vita, sed donata mors esse videatur. Non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidiâ senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non luctum filiæ, non exilium generi, non acerbissimam Caii Marii fugam, non illam post reditum ejus cædem omnium crudelissimam.* Cicero *De Oratore*, lib. iii. s. 8.

(*b*) Metius Carus was one of the tribe of informers: it was he that conducted the prosecution against Senecio; see this Tract, sect. 2, note (*b*). Pliny the consul has preserved this man for the execration of posterity. He tells us, that, when Regulus, another notorious prosecutor, inveighed in open court against the memory of Senecio, this fellow,

had the impudence to stand up, and demand of Regulus, *What have you to do with my dead men? Do I disturb the ashes of Crassus or Camerinus, whom you accused in Nero's reign? Lacerat Herennium Senecionem tam intemperanter, ut dixerit ei Metius Carus, Quid tibi cum meis mortuis? Numquid ego aut Crasso aut Camerino molestus sum?* Plin. lib. i. epist. 5. Carus has not escaped the indignation of Juvenal:

> Causidici nova cum veniat lectica MATHONIS,
> Plena ipso; et post hunc magni delator amici,
> Et cito rapturus de nobiliate comesâ,
> Quod superest: quem MASSA timet, quem munere palpat
> CARUS. JUV. SAT. i. ver. 32.

> When pleading Matho, borne abroad for air,
> With his fat paunch fills his new-fashion'd chair;
> And after him the wretch, in pomp convey'd,
> Whose evidence his noble friend betray'd;
> Whom Massa calls the terror of the age,
> And even CARUS bribes away his rage.

During the life of Agricola, we are told by Tacitus that METIUS CARUS had gained but one victory. It seems, however, that he continued to flourish in his iniquity till the reign of Nerva, when the virtue of that emperor re-

formed all abuses, and, by a just and wise administration, established the peace and good order of society.

(c) The exact name of this man was Catullus Messalinus. Pliny the younger has given his portrait. He says, that Nerva, the emperor, gave a supper to a select number of friends, and that VEIENTO (an informer in Domitian's time) was admitted to be one of the party. The discourse turned upon CATULLUS MESSALINUS, who, being blind, added to that misfortune a cruel disposition. He was void of fear, of shame, and pity, and therefore Domitian made use of him as one of his instruments against every man of worth. All who were at table talked of the sanguinary counsels of this abandoned wretch: Nerva asked, *What think you would be his case, were he now alive?* Mauricus (looking at Veiento) replied, *He would sup with us. Cœnabat Nerva cum paucis: Veiento proximus, atque etiam in sinu recumbebat. Dixi omnia, cum hominem nominavi. Incidit sermo de* CATULLO MESSALINO, *qui luminibus orbatus, ingenio sævo mala cæcitatis addiderat. Non verebatur, non erubescebat, non*

miserebatur. Sæpius a Domitiano non secus ac tela, quæ et ipsa cæca et improvida ferantur, in optimum quemque contorquebatur. De hujus nequitiâ sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super cœnam loquebantur. Tum ipse imperator, QUID PUTAMUS PASSURUM FUISSE, SI VIVERET? *Et Mauricus,* NOBISCUM CŒNARET. Lib. iv. ep. 22. Juvenal has embalmed this man for posterity. He describes him as one of Domitian's council, sitting in deep debate on the important subject of the prodigious turbot which had been presented to the emperor. Though blind, his admiration of the fish rose to ecstasy: he turned to the left, when it lay on his right, and gave his advice with the solemn wisdom of a privy counsellor.

Et cum mortifero veniens Veiento CATULLO,
Qui nunquam visæ flagrabat amore puellæ,
Grande, et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
Cæcus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles,
Dignus Asicinoo qui mendicaret ad axes,
Blandaque devexæ jactaret basia rhedæ.

JUVEN. SAT. iv.

Cunning Velento next, and by his side
Bloody Catullus leaning on his guide;

Decrepid, yet a furious lover he,
And deeply smit with charms he could not see:
A monster, that even this worst age outvies,
Conspicuous, and above the common size;
A blind, base flatt'rer, from some bridge or gate
Rais'd to a murd'ring minister of state;
Deserving still to beg upon the road,
And bless each passing waggon, and its load.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

The place, where CATULLUS MESSALINUS attended Domitian in council, was a castle near the ancient Alba (now *Albano*), about twelve miles from Rome. Juvenal says,

——— Albanam dux magnus in arcem
Traxerat attonitos.——

It was in that retreat that Messalinus, at first, gave his advice: he was afterwards heard in the senate.

(*d*) Bæbius Massa took up the trade of an informer, and rose to eminence in guilt; but, at the time of Agricola's death, he was under a prosecution for rapine and extortion in the province of Bætica in Spain. Pliny the younger and his friend Herennius Senecio were appointed by the senate to conduct the cause in behalf of the province. Massa was

found guilty, and his goods were ordered to be secured. It appeared soon after that the consuls were willing to listen to petitions on the part of Massa. Senecio was alarmed. He suspected an intended embezzlement of the culprit's effects, and, to prevent it, desired Pliny to join him in an application to the consuls. Pliny complied: they both attended the consuls. When they had urged all that was proper on the occasion, Massa thought himself aggrieved by the supererogatory zeal of Senecio; and to revenge himself, joined in the clamour against Senecio for writing the panegyric of Helvidius Priscus. Pliny relates the transaction to his friend Tacitus in the following manner: *Dederat me Senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciæ Bæticæ contra Bæbium Massam; damnatoque Massâ, censuerat ut bona ejus publicè custodirentur. Senecio, cum explorasset consules postulationibus vacaturos, convenit me, et Quâ concordiâ, inquit, injunctam nobis accusationem executi sumus, hac adeamus consules, petamusque, ne bona dissipari sinant, quorum esse in custodiâ debent. Tum ego, Si fixum tibi istud ac deliberatum, sequar te, ut si quæ ex hoc invidia, non tua tantum sit. Venimus ad consules: dicit Senecio, Quæ res*

ferebat: aliqua subjungo. Vixdum conticueramus, et Massa, questus Senecionem non advocati fidem sed inimici amaritudinem implesse, impietatis reum postulat. Pliny, lib. vii. epist. 33. It was the wish of Pliny to have the facts inserted in the History of Domitian, which Tacitus was probably writing; but the work is lost, and Domitian has escaped the vengeance of history. See in this Tract, sect. 2, note (*b*). Tacitus says that Massa was a pernicious enemy to all good men, and the cause of many calamities with which the public was sorely grieved. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 50. Martial says of Hermogenes, a fellow that pilfered wherever he was admitted, that he did not steal more napkins, than Massa did pieces of gold.

> Hermogenes tantus mapparum, Pontice, fur est
> Quantus nummorum vix, puto, Massa fuit.
>
> Lib. xii. epig. 29.

(*e*) The reader is not to imagine that this relates to Helvidius Priscus, who was banished, and murdered in exile, under the emperor Vespasian. See this Tract, sect. 2, note (*b*). If the apology which Suetonius (in Vespas. s. 15) makes for the conduct of Vespasian, be founded in truth, it is happy for the memory

of the emperor: if otherwise, Vespasian, by his dissimulation, paid a compliment to virtue. Elizabeth played the same card in the execution of Queen Mary. The Helvidius mentioned in this place by Tacitus, was the son of the great and good man, so often celebrated by Tacitus. See his character, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 5. See also this Tract, sect. 2, note (*b*). Suetonius says, Domitian destroyed Helvidius the son, because, in a dramatic piece, called PARIS and OENONE, he threw out a sarcastic reflection on the divorce of the emperor. Sueton. *in Domit.* s. 10. Publicius Certus was the person who undertook the accusation of Helvidius the son, in the reign of Domitian, A. U. C. 847, A. D. 94. Pliny the younger relates the proceeding with indignation. He says a great friendship subsisted between him and Helvidius the son; as great as he could cultivate with a person who, in dread of those dangerous times, endeavoured, by living in obscurity and retirement, to conceal his excellent character, and no less remarkable virtues. And, besides, among the many flagitious acts of those deplorable times nothing appeared to him more atrocious, than that a senator, in the senate, should lay hands upon a senator; a præ-

tor, upon a man of consular dignity; a judge, upon a person accused. *Porro inter multa scelera multorum, nullum atrocius videbatur, quam quod in senatu, senator senatori, prætorius consulari, reo judex manus intulisset.* Lib. ix. ep. 13. This explains what Tacitus means, when he says, *our own hands led Helvidius to prison.* As the fathers suffered this indignity, Tacitus (who was himself a senator) oratorically says the whole order did it; our hands dragged him to prison. It will be proper to add, that Pliny, as soon as Domitian was put to death, determined to revenge the cause of his injured friend. With that intent, in the very beginning of Nerva's reign, he entered the senate, and there brought forward his charge against Publicius Certus. The whole assembly was thrown into an uproar, and Pliny was, for some time, prevented from pursuing the thread of his speech. In the modern phrase, he was *called to order* by the consul. When it came regularly to his turn, he renewed the charge, and, by his eloquence, wrought such a wonderful change of sentiment in the minds of the fathers, that he carried his point, which was to hinder Certus from enjoying the honour of the consulship, to which he

then stood next in succession, for the year of Rome 851, A. D. 98. Pliny's accusation was in 97. The effect was answerable to the wish of the public-spirited orator; another consul was appointed in the room of CERTUS, who, in a short time after, was seized with his last illness, and died, according to the report of the time, crying out in his delirious fits, that he saw Pliny pursuing him sword in hand. See the whole account, b. ix. ep. 13.

(*f*) Mauricus and Arulenus Rusticus were brothers, united not only by the ties of natural affection, but by their manners and congenial virtues. They were cruelly separated in the sight of the senate, when Rusticus was hurried away to execution, and Mauricus ordered into banishment. An account of the former has been given, sect. 2, note (*a*). The latter was restored to his country in the beginning of Nerva's reign, as appears in Pliny, b. i. ep. 5, where his character is said to be that of a man of sound sense and judgement, formed by experience, and by his deep sagacity able from past events to weigh and measure the future. See his answer to Nerva, this sect. note (*c*).

(*g*) The senate, amidst all these tragic issues, sat without voice or sentiment; a timid and speechless assembly, as Pliny has it, *Curia timida et elinguis.* They submitted, with passive obedience, to the tyrant's will; and therefore Tacitus says that their hands were imbrued in the blood of Senecio. See sect. 2, note (*b*).

(*h*) Domitian's complexion was of so deep a red, that nothing could add to his natural colour, and he was therefore said by Pliny to be a man of unblushing arrogance. See sect. 39, note (*b*). The critics have objected to Tacitus, that, in this place, he seems too fond of an antithesis: he places, they say, the settled crimson of a tyrant's countenance which fortified him against all shame, in opposition to the pale sickly horror of wretches who dreaded their final doom from his approach. But if (as we have seen, sect. 29, note *b*) Pliny, who studied no contrast, thought the fact worth recording, by what law in Quintilian, or any other good judge of fine writing, was Tacitus to be precluded from an imitation of truth and nature? The fixed vermilion of the cheek was peculiar to Domi-

tian: with other men, a sudden emotion of anger forces the blood into the face, and nature gives that unerring signal. Seneca has observed, that men are then chiefly terrible, when the face reddens, and shame has thrown out all its symptoms. Sylla was then most to be dreaded, when his blood rushed into his countenance. *Quidam, nunquam magis quam cum erubuerint, timendi sunt; quasi omnem verecundiam effuderint. Sylla tunc erat violentissimus, cum faciem ejus sanguis invaserat.* Seneca ep. xi. This was not the case of Domitian: a settled ferocity glowed on his cheeks, and the men, who knew themselves marked out for destruction, trembled at his approach.

(*i*) Tacitus and his wife, at the time of Agricola's death, had been four years absent from Rome; on what account we are nowhere told. Some critics suppose, that he was banished by Domitian; but this seems to be without foundation. Lipsius is of opinion, that his retreat was voluntary; being a man incapable of beholding, with a passive spirit, the sufferings of his fellow-citizens, under a bloody and destructive tyrant. The whole of this passage, in which the author addresses himself

to Agricola, is, perhaps, as beautiful, as pathetic, and as elegant an apostrophe, as can be found in Tully, or any of the most admired orators. When the author says, *In the last glimpse of light, you looked round with an asking eye for something that was absent*, NOVISSIMA IN LUCE DESIDERAVERE ALIQUID OCULI TUI, we feel the stroke of tenderness; we are transported in fancy to the bedside, and we love to gaze on the expiring hero. If Warburton, in the conclusion of the Essay on Man, could find the five sources of the sublime, we may with better reason say, this apostrophe contains them all. Brotier quotes a passage from the late King of Prussia's funeral oration on Prince Henry of Prussia, in which he finds either a fine imitation of Tacitus, or the sympathy of congenial minds. *O prince! qui saviez combien vous m'étiez cher; combien votre personne m'était précieuse; si la voix des vivans peut se faire entendre des morts, prêtez attention à une voix, qui ne vous fut pas inconnue; souffrez que ce fragile monument, le seul, hélas! que je puis ériger à votre mémoire, vous soit élevé.* See *Eloge du Prince Henri, par S. M. le Roi de Prusse.*

Section XLVI.

(*a*) Tacitus, in this place, speaks hypothetically, but with an apparent disposition to embrace the system of the best and wisest men; and, it may be added, the persuasion of mankind in every age and nation. That the soul of man is not extinguished with his animal life, but passes, in that awful moment, into some new region of existence, or transmigrates into some other being, has been, at all times, the opinion, or the conjecture, or the wish, of the rudest and most savage tribes; and this universal consent, Cicero observes in the first Tusculan, is the law of nature speaking in the human heart. *Omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est.* Men of study and deep speculation adopted what they saw rooted in the mass of the people; and, having no better guide than the dim light of nature, they established their schools of philosophy, and taught their different systems. The Socratic and Platonic professors declared for the immortality of the soul, and some of their proofs are short of nothing but revelation. The Stoic sect did not embrace the doctrine in its full extent: according to

their hypothesis, certain chosen spirits might have their existence prolonged in a future world, but not to eternity. They allowed us, says Cicero, the duration of a crow, admitting that the soul may exist hereafter, but not for ever. *Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur tamquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos; semper, negant.* *First Tusculan*, s. 32. It was reserved for Epicurus to deny the attributes of the Supreme Being, and to teach the gloomy doctrine of annihilation. That philosopher, however, did not long make head against the general sense of mankind. He gained some apostates; but their writings have long since disappeared, and their tenets are now supported by the poetry of Lucretius only. Macrobius, in his remarks on the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS of Cicero, has mentioned the triumph of a better and more moral doctrine. The immateriality, he says, as well as the immortality, of the soul, has gained the general assent. *Obtinuit non minus de incorporalitate animæ, quam de immortalitate sententia.* Cicero, in various parts of his works, maintained the same doctrine, and in one admirable sentence seems to have compressed the whole force of the argument. That, he says, which

feels, which thinks, which deliberates, and wills, is of heavenly origin, and, for that reason, must be immortal. *Quidquid est illud, quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vult, quod viget, cœleste et divinum est, ob eamque rem æternum sit necesse est.* But this doctrine, amidst the contentions of dogmatical sects, was far from being established. Wise men embraced it. *Ut sapientibus placet*, says Tacitus; and he may be allowed to have embraced the most orthodox opinion. If the immortality of the soul was not a settled article of his creed, at a time when the light of revelation was not yet diffused over the Christian world, it is however probable, that he, who possessed a comprehensive and sublime understanding, was not content with the grovelling notion of falling into nothing, but aspired, and wished, and hoped, to enjoy a future state of immortality. He was conscious of the dignity of human nature, and thence proceeded the fine address to the departed spirit of his father-in-law.

(*b*) The text is left by the copyists in a mangled condition. The words, as they stand, cannot be reduced to any kind of sense. *Admiratione te potius, temporalibus laudibus,*

et si natura suppeditet, MILITUM *decoremus*. Lipsius and Grotius have contributed their assistance. The former reads, *Admiratione te potius, te temporalibus laudibus;* and (instead of *militum*, which is totally unintelligible), Grotius adds, *similitudine decoremus*. Out of the word *similitudine* a bad transcriber might make *militum*. La Bletterie thinks it might be *æmulatu*, and that conjecture has been adopted in the translation.

(c) Cicero has a sentiment analogous to what is here said by Tacitus. Servius Sulpicius could leave no monument equal to the portrait of his manners, his virtue, his constancy, and his talents, which still survived in his son. *Nullum monumentum clarius Servius Sulpicius relinquere potuerat, quam effigiem morum suorum, virtutis, constantiæ, ingenii, filium.* See the *Tenth Philippic*. Martial, in an elegant epigram, wishes that the painter's art could delineate the manners and the mind of his friend: that would make the best picture in the world.

Ars utinam mores animumque effingere posset;
Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret.

Lib. x. epig. 32.

(*d*) So we read in Horace:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgentur ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

Lib. iv. ode 9.

Vain was the chief's, the sage's pride;
They had no poet, and they died:
In vain they schemed, in vain they bled;
They had no poet, and are dead. POPE.

(*e*) Pliny, the consul, returned thanks to Tacitus for desiring an account of the elder Pliny's death, that he might transmit it with truth to posterity. His uncle, he says, if celebrated by such a writer, will be immortal. Pliny, b. vi. epist. 16. That part, however, of our author's works has not come down to us, and the prophecy has so far failed. The prediction of Tacitus is completely verified: Agricola is rendered immortal; he lives in the historian's page, and will continue to do so, as long as men retain a taste for the best and truest model of biography.

END OF VOL. VII.

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